THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The question is:

"That leave be granted to introduce a Bill to provide for the redressal of grievances of employees in hospitals and certain other institutions and for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto."

The motion was adopted.

SHRI P. A. SANGMA: Madam, I introduce the Bill.

THE APPROPRIATION (NO. 5) BILL, 1987

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE (SHRI JANARDHAN POOJARI): Madam, I move:

"That the Bill to authorise payment and appropriation of certain further sums from and out of the Consolidated Fund of India for the services of the financial year 1987-88, as passed by the Lok Sabha, be taken into consideration."

The Bill arises out of the Supplementary Appropriation 'Charged' on the Consolidated Fund of India and Demands voted by the Lok Sabha on December 7, 1987. These involve gross additional expenditure of Rs. 1780.49 crores.

The additional requirement of Rs. 1780.49 crores comprises Rs. 989.86 crores for transfers to State Governments, Rs. 24.03 crores for transfers to Union Territory Governments and Administrations, Rs. 319.77 crores for releases to Public Sector Enterprises, Rs. 434.15 crores for subsidies, Rs. 12.68 crores for other expenditure. The details of the supplementary demands are available in the documents laid on the Table of the House on 30th November, 1987.

The concerned Ministries/Departments have identified matching savings/increased receipts to the extent of Rs. 399 84 crores. Thus the net additional expenditure is Rs. 1380.65 crores out of which Rs. 815.31 crores is related to drought and flood relief to be financed from the resources raised by economy and additional resources measures recently undertaken by the Government. The balance of Rs. 565.34 crores mainly comprises Rs. 300 crores for indigenous fertilisers subsidy, Rs. 181.64 crores for assistance to Punjab, Rs. 50 crores for subsidy to new industrial units set up in selected backward areas and Rs. 16.50 crores for investment in Hindustan Fertiliser Corporation.

The question was proposed.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: We shall discuss it after lunch. Now the House stands adjourned for lunch and will meet again at 2.30 P.M.

The House then adjourned for lunch at twenty nine minutes past one of the clock.

The House reassembled after lunch at thirty-three minutes past two of the clock. **The Vice-Chairman, Shri H. Hanumanthappa,** in the Chair.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): We will continue discussion on the Appropriation (No. 5) Bill, 1987. Shri Sunil Basu Ray.

SHRI SUNIL BASU RAY (West Bengal): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, only two months back, we have passed the first Appropriation Bill and we are again called upon to pass this second Appropriation Bill Now, the net amount that is involved in these two Bills is Rs. 1777 crores and some odd lakhs. But why this necessity of supplementary Budget why this necessity of exercise in net and gross demands? It is because the figures have been worked out as gross demand minus the savings that has been contemplated to a net and minus savings for lunch at twentynine savings are a reflection on the original Budget itself because if the savings are made, then we are to take it that

[Shri Sunil Basu Ray]

the original Budget has been pruned and on several counts, on several heads, there will be no expenditure or if expenditure is to be made, additional taxation will be necessary. So, *I think the hon. Minister will be kind* enough to explain as to what this saving clause is that they are bringing in. They have brought it in the first Appropriation Bill and they have brought it here also. Now, I think that this saving clause has a much wider impact. As has been said in the 'Economic Times' of 8th December, 1987, New Delhi edition, the coal sector is also coming under the saving clause. Coal India's budget will be reduced by Rs. 900 crores in the coming year and if that be so, then we will have a serious negative repercussion on the entire economy itself in power and all those things. This budget also admits that this supplementary budget is necessary because in the industrial sector there is a necessity to subsidise some of the industries like manufacture of indigenous fertiliser etc. Why has it become so necessary? As has been admitted here, in this document, taking into account the upward revision of the retention prices retrospectively from 1st April, 1985 increases in the prices of inputs like power, gas, etc., higher freight charges and the production target to be achieved, the total expenditure this year on payment of subsidies to indigenous manufacturers of fertilisers is now estimated at Rs. 2350/- crores So, it is a cost-inflationary budget. It pushes the prices up. That has been admitted here and as we see, during the past few months, the prices are going up like anything. As has been commented in the 'Tribune' of December 1, 1987, a long winter of discontent lies ahead because the prices have gone up by 9.6 per cent and the items of daily consumption should be dearer by about 15 per cent now compared to last year. This is the situation. We *have entered an era of* double digit inflation and this inflation is having a great havoc on the life of workers and peasants. In the life of workers it has already gone up by 10.2 per cent in their index and in the case of agrarian sector, it has gone up by 20.9 per cent, as has been stated in the press. So, this budget is giving rise to price increase and unless it is contained, unless the prices are reduced, there will be no meaning in having a budget because this budget will again cause bringing in of another supplementary budget, another Appropriation Bill No. 6. So, I think the hon. Minister should also reply on this point and assure this House that prices will be brought down and the inflation will be reduced. Not only sibsidies have become necessary, as a result of this price increase, the prices of all the commodities have gone up. The value of the rupee has gone down to 12 or 13 paise in our country and it is the lowest in New Delhi itself

Now, another cause for bringing this Appropriation Bill is the expenditure that has become necessary due to drought and flood. Now, it is quite necessary that to contain the effect of drought and flood on the economy, we must have some additional expenditure. We must contain drought and we must contain flood and we must help agriculture and industry to grow rapidly. But is there any serious step that the Government is taking to contain drought and flood? In our experience in India drought and flood are not just natural calamities. They are caused by our own activities, the way our unscientific planning is done, the way we are going producing things unrelated to nature, unrelated to the peculiarities of nature operating in different areas. Unless we seriously look into our planning process and take into account the character of nature in its different aspects in different regions and try to harness those, we will not be able to contain drought and flood. In the eastern region as well as in the western and central region drought and flood are *caused largely by our activities.* However, when we have decided to try to contain the effects of drought and flood, you said we require Rs. 550

crores. Actually this Budget says we need about Rs. 1300 crores. Wherefrom do we get that amount? Rupees five hundred and fifty crores will be collected through taxes and more than Rs. 800 crores will be collected through foreign assistance a large portion of which, viz. Rs. 720 crores, will come from Japan and World Bank as loan. This will again bring us into the clutches of foreign monopolists and they will have the opportunity to squeeze our country further. Instead of making good use of our internal resources, on the plea of containing drought and flood we have gone to Japan and World Bank for loan. Perhaps other countries also will give us some amounts. I do not know what the terms and conditions behind these grants are. You have mentioned the effects of drought and flood In fact, the effects of drought and flood are far more serious. As we know, if there is a 10 per cent fall in agricultural production, we have a loss of Rs. 8400 crores and the peasant stands to lose Rs. 3000 crores And the Government intends to import 10 million tonnes of foodgrains at a cost of Rs. 1000 crores. But when our State Government wants sufficient funds to fight the effects of drought and flood, the Centre is not prepared to grant the funds to the Government of West Bengal. Even when small amounts are given to the State Government, the Central Government starts saying loudly that huge amounts have been given to the State Government, which is not a fact. Similar is the case with Punjab, Karnataka and Rajasthan. The Centre has not given the funds which the State Governments wanted. If this situation continues, then I think the situation in the coming days will be far worse than we can imagine. We are passing through a crisis in our industries also. A large number of industries are becoming sick. In 1986 there were 689 big, 1230 medium and 1,28,687 small industries which were either sick or closed. As a result of this, Rs. 3,239 crores in big industries, Rs. 242 croress in medium industries and Rs. 1,184 crores in small industries, totalling Rs. 4,665 crores, of bank capital is lying blocked there. If we squander our money, our capital, in this way, then there is no way out of this crisis. And, Sir, we will be bringing forward Appropriation Bills in any number, but we will not be able to contain the crisis that we are facing Actually, we are in a fix and we do not know what to do with this crisis. Our policies are encouraging the crisis, inflating the crisis, but not containing it and are not bringing us out of the crisis. As a result of the drought situation, some agricultural commodities like oilseeds, etc. have come in short supply Because of this short supply, whatever stocks are there in the States have not been dehoarded and arrangements for sending the oilseeds to the oil-producing States have not been made with the result that about six hundred oil mills in West Bengal have had to lay off about 25,000 workers, as it has come out in the Press. So, instead of taking a full view and adopting foolproof policies to contain this crisis, with the help of the people, with the help of the States and with the help of the non-Congress (I) States, we are taking resort to policies which are inflating the crisis and which are adding fuel to the fire. So, unless this practice is stopped and unless this crisis is contained, I think we will not be able to come out of this difficult situation.

Sir, I have put forth my observations on the Appropriation Bill here and I hope that the Government will respond to what the one million people have demanded yesterday here in their charter of demands. We have placed them here yesterday and I hope that the Government will try to fulfil those demands and solve the crisis

With these words, Sir, I conclude. Thank you, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Now, Mr. A. G. Kulkarni You have got fourteen minutes.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Kindly make it twenty, Sir.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I wanted to draw the attention of the Government, particularly when it has come up with this Appropriation Bill, to one thing. The Government says that the money is required for certain immediate and urgent matters and I think drought is the main item on which we have to incur a lot of expenditure and we require money to meet this expenditure The Government has already appointed a high-power Committee under the presidentship or chairmanship of the Prime Minister and the Government is making all efforts to support all the States in which there is the drought or flood situation and to give them more funds for meeting the expenditure. Sir, this I can understand. But, looking to the economic conditions prevailing in the country at present, I do feel that there is no necessity for the Government to do this. I think the Government should have, apart from a short-term view of the economy, a long-term perspective also, say, for another ten or fifteen years. I am saying this because these conditions of drought and floods will recur and there will always be a drain on our resources for meeting expenditure on this account. Already, I think, we have spent about Rs 400 or Rs. 500 crores on the present drought and floods and, as a result, we are suffering economically.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I think there are probably two ways in which this heavy expenditure on drought and floods can be managed. One is the application of the principles of supply-side economics and the other is that of demand-side economics. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, I think that at present what is necessary is to give more emphasis on the supply side economy which is more important, and I would request that the Minister takes proper care of the supply side economy in this connection, because as I see the Government expenditure this year has gone up to Rs 93,000 to Rs. 95,000 crores, which is 35 per cent of the GDP as against roundabout 34 per cent in 1985-86. There is a widening budgetary gap and the deficit, I think, has already reached about Rs. 8225 crores, which is more than what was expected during the 2½ years of the Seventh Plan.

I think, Sir, that the rising subsidies, as has been rightly pointed out, are also eating into our economy, and a point has to be made as to how to curtail these subsidies, particularly to the affluent sections or the rural rich, which deserve attention from the Government.

Then, Sir, about debt servicing I am also more concerned, because the internal debt of the Government is roundabout Rs. 1,63,000 crores, while Rs. 20,000 and odd crores is the foreign debt. For internal debt servicing we require Rs. 10,000 crores. And for foreign debt servicing, it may transgress the safe limit which is taken as roundabout 17 per cent. And in that way it may go up to 22 per cent or 23 per cent.

Sir, one of the effects of the drought is fall in agricultural production. And it is said that if there is a fall, there will be a fall between 10 and 15 per cent. It means Rs. 10,000 crores less will be received by the agricultural community in the villages It this much is received less, then naturally their purchasing strength will go down and about 25 per cent of the population will be driven back below the poverty line, which is a very grave position we have come to. Here, Mr. Vice-Chairman, only yesterday I found this from a mid-term appraisal made by one of the research organisations in Delhi. Also, Dr. Malcolm Adiseshaiah, who was our Member here in the Rajya Sabha during the previous session, has really brought out a cogent argument how to change this economic prospect. I was really surprised. I am aware of the contribution of the national exchequer, or the contribution to the Net Domestic Product or GDP from the primary sector was 50-50 previously, in the fifties or sixties. Now it has gone down to 37 or 35 per cent. That means the rural people and agriculturists are becoming poor and poor. And again the service sector has increased its contribution by 27 per cent. It means that it must have now reached roundabout 31 to 35 per cent. This

shows how much money the Government is spending, or how much wasteful expenditure it is incurring, on the service sector or whatever it might come to, because what we find is that about 20 per cent of the elite population of this country, right from the capitalists to job-seeker employees in the public sector or the public sector, have appropriated themselves about 49 per cent of the Gross Product. The last 20 per cent which are called the poorer sections have got merely 7 per cent and in between they have got some 16 per cent. It shows gross distortion in the economy of this country. I think it is necessary that there are policy decisions which should be taken with courage and boldness to correct the imbalance created between the rural sector and the manufacturing sector. Otherwise, if the purchasing power in the rural sector is reduced further, there will be no demand for the products produced, particularly the wage goods, essential commodities, etc. We find that we have invested about Rs 60,000 crores. But the return is very very meagre. One of the reasons for this is the job security in the public sector or in the private sector. This job security has to be abolished once and for all and the productivity has to be linked to the wages and more and more authority has to be given to the management in the public sector or the private sector. Otherwise, this is creating what you call productivity malaise in the industrial sector. It is reported in that article that our productivity per employee has increased only by 14 per cent as against 54 per cent in Korea or Taiwan. These are very small countries. But I am mentioning this as a comparison.

There are many other items. I feel that supply side economics is necessary. It is the production of consumer items as well as controlled administered prices which is creating a high-cost economy in this country. Unless this is done, this cannot be achieved. We cannot achieve the results which we desired, i.e. attaining a socialist economy.

There is another menace of black money. I am really sorry to say that about this parallel economy in this country much is desired to be done. I am aware that the Finance Ministry has increased the raids on big houses, capitalists, black-marketeers and smugglers. But it has not achieved its goal. Only 4-5 days back, I found that a paper was placed on the Table of this House by Mr. Gadhvi. I think it was on the 25th of November. I was stunned to see that the Finance Minister had changed the excise structure on synthetic cloth. I was surprised because I found that the sum total effect of this change was to give further concessions to the elitist class of synthetic wearers. The Government did not remember that the N.T.C. mills are now producing *sulabh* cloth. It also went under the carpet. They are the sufferers. They will suffer to a larger extent. Fortunately for us, some of our friends and I went to Mr. Tiwari, the Finance Minister. A new notification has been issued now. It is dated the 9th December 1987. But even the new notification has given some concession in the shirting variety while the saree has got the same burden. Who has benefited by this? It is Orkay. It is Garden Silk Mills. It is Reliance. These big mills have been benefited. So I want to ask the Government for whom they stand. Is it to help the Reliance? Is it to help Orkay? Is it to help Bombay Dyeing? Is it to help the Thapars or for whom? One notification has created an imbalance of Rs. 30 crores for the benefit of these three or four manufacturers of synthetic fabrics.

3.00 P.M.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I will again bring to your notice that during the last six months, one house, particularly this Reliance Industry has been benefited to the extent of Rs. 800 crores by way of concessions. The duty on PTA and DMT was reduced. When I raised this question, I was given a general answer that it is in the larger interest that the duty has been reduced, etc. Sir, a person who is in this industry knows that the PTA route of producing polyester fibres or polyester yarns, etc. is itself a cheaper way. Why is further reduction necessary in help them? (*Time bell rings*) Sir, I will take seven more minutes.. Then, Sir, it

[Shri A. G. Kulkarni]

was found out that the entire plant was smuggled in, a duty of about Rs. 120 crores or something was put The CBI investigated, but nothing happened. To the same Reliance, concession was given and it was ante-dated. They committed fraud with the assistance of the Canara Bank. That was also investigated. About Rs. 100 or Rs. 130 crores worth of PTA has been dumped into this country though production has not still started. And this has been done a year back. Sir, I can go on multiplying the instances. But I will give two or three instances Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, it has been found that the Government has got all the reports of this. But challans have not still been filed. But extension is being given to the CBI Director who is helping the Reliance Industries, the Orkays and the Thapars. They are merrily going on. I am very much against this attitude of the Government because I firmly believe that unless corruption is put down, this type of behaviour of the industrialists cannot be corrected and poor people will always suffer

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, there is also an evasion of excise duty by the Reliance to the extent of Rs. 150 crores through forged documents. That also has not been gone into. Whatever the Reliance desired that has been given effect to and that has been notified within 8 or 10 days. Sir, oiling of the bureaucratic machine, oiling of the political machine has brought all this trouble on this Government. Sir, you may know that a licence was granted to the Reliance to manufacture L.A.B Paraffin, the raw material for this LAB project has also been suddenly allowed to be imported. A licence is there for the LAB project where the condition was that he must produce the paraffin himself. And now nothing is coming out. Sir, in this country, a balance between the production and consumption of polyester fibre and polyester yarn is always maintained. But suddenly a scheme came out from these four people—the Orkays, the Gardens, the Reliance and the Garwares. What they suggested to the Government is that they would export and realise more. They exported and the permission was granted at the cost of the Surat weavers, the Amritsar weavers, the Bhiwandi weavers and the weavers of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka What has happened? The total effect of this is that about a sum of Rs. 67 crores has been earned by these people as incentives and also permission to import the raw material at the cheapest price. The last point, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, is that of the financial institutions predating or what you call it floating of equity shares to the tune of Rs. 198 crores with premium of Rs. 50. In the previous cases of the 'G' series the issue was such that the profits would shoot up not from its earning but from the shareholders funds and the case is now in the High Court. Sir, what I want to say is that of these, you know, they have placed their debentures, what you call preponing or something like that with the Unit Trust and the LIC. This is one aspect. The other is the Thapars. What happened to the Thapars? The reply given in the House was that out of Rs. 14 crores, some Rs. 1.4 crores have been received back. This is one aspect. Then the Orkays. Then the Bombay Dyeing. In all these big houses particularly this is what you call it, a civil war between these industrialists is going on Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, Mr Poojari expresses ignorance and he says that he will inquire into it, but again I will put the same question to him because yesterday's Thakkar-Natarajan report has again mentioned that whatever the risk or security, I am not going into the merits of that report, but Prafulla and Nalini Shah who have been FERA violators to purchase Reliance debentures and made this point to Mr. Poojari, but still he is silent. I have known personally what his difficulties are. I do not blame him. But as a Government is it not necessary to convince these people that the Reliance, the Orkay, the Garden, and Garwares and the Thapars require some type of disciplining? When we poor people in the villages are groaning under the drought, there is no drinking water, no food, they have started the Reliance Crecket Matches or whatever that damn thing is and

they paid only Rs. 15 crores and earned Rs. 40 crores Even there business was done by them. And the Government offices just open a red-carpet treatment for the Reliance. I am very much against this policy of the Government.

These big capitalist houses have to be disciplined, whether they may be of the Thapars in the Dreyfus case or whether it is Orkay in other cases of FERA violation, whether it is the Reliance or whether it is the Bombay Dyeing, all these people have to come, when you want to create a proper atmosphere in this country. It seems that this oiling and bribing of politicians and bureaucrats will subvert the democracy. Please stop these monopoly type of industrialists like the Reliance etc. and see that there is confidence in the common man in the policy of the Government to put down these capitalists with a heavy hand. Thank you.

SHRI N. RAJANGAM (Tamil Nadu): Mr. Vice-chairman Sir, I rise to register my views on the Appropriation (No. 5) Bill. The Hon'ble Minister of State for Finance has brought this bill to provide funds for certain programmes not covered under the purview of the main budget and also to compensate the unforseen expenditure incurred. And this is the practice both, at the Centre and the States.

However, I wish to point out some omissions on the part of the Central Government in funding the development programmes. A proposal to expand the Ordnance Factory at Avadi near Madras has been pending with the Centre for quite some time. I feel, very sincerely, that this proposal should not lie in wait in the interest of the nation. While we often pronounce to become self-sufficient in every sphere, including arms for defence, the fact remains that we still keep importing arms from foreign countries. Under this situation, the Government would be well advised to go in for a large scale expansion of the Avadi Ordnance Factory. This apart, the haunting menace of the time all over the country, is the acute shortage of electricity. As a result of this, the entire gamut of activities in the country, agriculture and industries in particular, would be put to jeopardy. Today, Tamilnadu, is the worst affected State with an unprecedented 75 per cent power shortage Unfortunately, we continue to depend more on the hydro-electric projects, which depend on the mercy of the monsoon. Even, the thermal power stations are not adequate enough to cope with the increasing demand for electricity.

In Tamilnadu, we have a big Thermal power station at Neyveli. But, the power generated there, is shared by different States. The Government of Tamilnadu have approached the Centre many times for opening new Thermal Power Station. Tamilnadu has been asking for more allocation of coal to enhance the power generation and for setting up of new units which is yet to be met. There is also another school of opinion, demanding a national level distribution of power throughout the country. I wish to put on record that until the Government seriously contemplates over these opinions and comes out with a viable solution, this problem cannot be overcome.

During the recent past, the nature has come to play havoc in our country. Some or other parts of the country either keep reeling under drought or remain marooned in flood. Every time the Government has to spend lot of money to save the situation at that point of time. But the Government should realise that such measures cannot be the panacea. A great statesman said, "Plan for hundred years but be prepared to die tomorrow"—What he meant was to follow an ideology of a long term policy with great vision. Shri Viswesaraiya a great visionary, laboured for a long period to study the feasibility of linking Ganga and Cauvery and recommended it to the Government. Later, Mr. Rao Committee also submitted its report on this matter. But surprisingly, nothing has been done or even

*English translation of the original speech delivered in Tamil.

[Shri N. Rajangam]

pronounced with regard to this. It is high time we desist from spending huge sum of money on short-term and temporary-relief measures. In spite of this we should look into the future and dare to launch long-term projects in the interest of the society. I wonder, how, a stupendous and viable project like Ganga Cauvery link envisaging to provide the elixir of life, water, to the people in the entire length and breadth of the country is put in the cold storage. The Telugu-Ganga project is also put to dormancy for the want of funds from the Centre. There has also been suggestions to divert the course of Mahanadi river, making it possible to flow through Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu. This will go a long way in helping these States with the water that is otherwise flowing into the sea. This also has not been taken notice by the Government. I would very emphatically say that the Government should not sit on the debris of long-term projects but should gear up to meet the challenge of the future.

There are many lakes in Tamilnadu, some stretching to a length of 12 Kms. and a breadth of 3 Kms. Some need to be cleared of silts while others need to be deepened so that they can serve as reservoirs. Non-resident Indians in countries like Canada and America are willing to fund these programmes. I request the Centre to accept such offers with gratitude.

Oil and gas have been struck in the Cauvery delta of Thanjavur and South Arcot districts. The oil we get at Bhuvanagiri near Chidambaram in South Arcot district, has the maximum petroleum content in the country. The oil from these districts is being sent to Madras refineries now. I request the Government to set up an oil refinery near Bhuvanagiri to avoid the unnecessary expenditure in transportation. The Government should also grant permission to set up a Thermal Power Station near Bhuvanagiri, making use of the gas available there.

I would like to say a few words regarding small scale industries. The Hon'ble Minister of State for Finance Shri Janardhan Poojari is here. I have had the privilege of hearing him on various occasions. I am also aware of his directions to the Bank Managers regarding giving of loan to the poor people. Making use of this opportunity, I request the Hon'ble Minister to be more generous in giving loan to the down trodden for setting up small scale industries. This will alone help these people to come up in life. They should be given loan without asking for security of any kind which they cannot provide.

Dr. Ambedkar, the champion of the down trodden, pleaded for the due share of these people in the administration. He wanted that these people should be given reservation in defence and constabulary. But we have reservation for the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe people, only in Coast Guard but not in Army, Navy and Air Force. The Government should provide reservation for these people in Defence also.

The decision of the Government to reduce the age limit for I.A.S. and allied services from 28 to 26, has disappointed the rural students. I fail to understand the logic behind this. By the time a rural student completes his graduation after coming over a number of impediments, and learns of the I.A.S., he crosses the age limit. The Government should review the policy and restore the age limit to 28. I have all praise for the Government's attitude towards the welfare of ex-servicemen But there are cases, where, ex-servicemen have been curtailed of their pension after 30 long years on feeble grounds. I have taken up one such case with the Hon'ble Defence Minister. In such cases the pension should be restored without delay.

As I conclude, I once again request the Centre to take necessary steps

towards the implementation of Ganga-Cauvery Telugu-Ganga, and Mahanadi projects. I thank the Vice-Chairman for having given me time.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR (Bihar): Mr. Vice-Chairman, thank you very much for giving me this time. I rise to support the Appropriation Bill, 1987. I have heard very carefully my senior colleague, Mr. Kulkarni's representation on the structural problems of the economy. I would not like to go over those problems although they are very vital.

I think the Appropriation Bill has been brought in the backdrop of a very severe natural calamity that we ran into. The country has faced an unprecedented drought as well as devastating flood in certain parts. There was a decrease of over 25 per cent or more in the normal precipitation and as it has been described, it was worse than meteorological drought or in fact, even worse than hydrological drought. While drought affected districts saw poor rainfall, little soil moisture and reduced water table, the flood ravaged particularly North Bihar, West Bengal, North and North-Eastern parts of Assam. Almost everything got washed away, crop, houses, roads, cattle and vulnerable human life, children, men, women, sick, old and destitute.

On any consideration this was an unprecedented calamity which we ran into. Consequences of this kind of intensity of drought and flood for the economy as a whole, the affected regions and the households, have been disastrous. Economic catastrophy blended with grim human suffering made it a misery of unprecedented magnitude. Kharif crops had to be protected and salvaged as far as possible and advance action had to be taken for the rabi season Fodder, power, irrigation, drinking water and essential supplies, all needed urgent attention and support. The possibility of import had to be kept in view and in fact some steps have been taken in right areas. Loss of income opportunity for the affected households required relief measures Beyond immediate gratuitous relief, there had to be a programme of gainful employment promotion and access to resources for reviving the wheels of affected economies of the concerned regions on a continuing basis. All this required additional resources.

The initial budgetary provision of Rs. 650 crores for such a situation proved inadequate for the magnitude of the problem the country was facing I would like to welcome here the Government's timely and appreciable response in terms of an Ordinance to raise Rs. 550 crores through auxiliary *duties and surcharge on income tax* and related measures. Also it must be said to the credit of the Government that as the Prime Minister promised savings in the non-plan expenditure to the extent of Rs. 650 crores is being brought about. In a way it is a compliment to our foreign policy that we have been able to get response of the external agencies, World Bank, Japan and similar countries which have come to our rescue. Together we are expecting an amount of over Rs. 1780 crores to be appropriated or re-appropriated to augment the resource position of the Government to meet the obligations in this financial year. Now how timely and effectively the money is spent for the projects is the critical challenge. I think the capability and competence of the delivery system, whether Central or State, and particularly at the State level, would determine the magnitude of gains, wastages or leakages in the process of this delivery of resources for the purpose for which they are being earmarked.

Drought and floods bring miseries to most. But we are all aware of bonanza for some Only a more alert and determined plan of action can help avoid this kind of a bonanza or leakages and then only it will help in fulfilling the objectives behind this appropriation. Pleasantly enough the Prime Minister has set the tone by providing personal leadership in grappling with the consequences

[Prof Chandresh P. Thakur]

of this havoc. There is evidence to believe and I am an optimst—and there is some concrete data from different sectors of the economy, different regions of the economy, that the Government machinery has got somewhat galvanised and the process of implementation has gathered momentum, which should be evident from the results when the final picture is examined after the period is over.

I would, however, like to turn to some important areas for the consideration of the Government. Number one is the situation with regard to food and fodder supplies. Particularly the likelihood of shortage is certainly there, notwithstanding the fact that we have a comfortable buffer stock. Even that can give us comfort only when we assume very optimistically that the next crop is going to be normal, or better than normal, and there is no way to guarantee that. We need replenishment of the buffer stock. Now buffer stock itself does not help; it is efficiency of the public distribution system in terms of making items of consumption available not only in the retail outlets but finally to the consumer who may have had acquired some purchasing power, either through relief or through gainful employment. This leads us to the price situation. I would not like to waste the time of this august House because there has been a long discussion on the price situation but the fact remains that all professional opinions and the symptoms indicate that the price situation is going to be under pressure. I think the wholesale price index, by the end of October touched, on the 1970-71 base, 409 plus and the consumer price index, in September, touched 701. I would like to mention that the State Bank of India Research Group, the Annual Report of the Reserve Bank of India and similar bodies had pointedly drawn attention to the price front. But I am happy, I am encouraged that the Government is equally concerned. The other day the Hon. Finance Minister, Mr. Tiwari, announced the setting up of a price monitoring mechanism. I hope this is going to be an effective mechanism which will provide basis for quick response from the Government, Centre or State. Also, I find that from the banking sector efforts are being made to mobilize the liquidity, to siphon off the liquidity through new instruments devised in the process, although I must add here that an investor or saver is somewhat confused because of proliferation of such schemes. There must be a common guideline. Whether it is coming from the Unit Trust of India or the State Bank of India or the Canara Bank, under one or the other item there is need for consolidation and a very clear guideline to the saver who would ultimately invest through those instruments.

The third area, Mr. Vice-Chairman, is the question of employment I think the Seventh Five-Year Plan talked about food, productivity and employment We are in the third year of the Seventh Plan The employment scene needs to be put on the top agenda of the economic management of the country. Gratuitous relief does provide temporary employment, but what the country needs is gainful employment of a continuing nature. From that point of view I would like to add that the backlog at the end of the Sixth Plan was 9 2 million. We expect substantial net additions to the labour force. Of course, we also expect corresponding net additions to job creation, but the balance at the end of the Seventh Plan in terms of backlog is not likely to be any better. In fact, the best estimates are that it could be around eight million.... *(Time-bell rings)*...

Sir, I appreciate your concern, but since I have to compensate for my silence for the rest of the session, you will be rather considerate. But I would like to hasten with my points.

Whereas drought and flood have affected the economy as a whole, certain regions have been more particularly affected, not because they are cursed but because they are inherently incapable in terms of lopsided development efforts in their economies.

Regional imbalance is item No 4 towards which I would like to draw the attention of the Government. Certain parts of the country have lagged in development and they are lagging still further,

for three reasons. Firstly, the project choices are not necessarily preferred in terms of the needs of such regions. Secondly, the fund allocation pattern is not necessarily augmenting regional balance even after 40 years of developmental planning and, finally, the quality of implementation of such projects, wherever the Plan projects are located and funds have been provided, varies across the region. Some of the State Governments are less efficient compared to the others, but I would like to think that the inefficiency of the State Governments should not be allowed to play havoc with people's lives and livelihood in those regions It should be adequately supplement by corresponding efforts and more efficint efforts where the project and programmes are Central Particularly, I am talking about regions like Chhotanagpur and North Bihar. You know that sicial cohesion or political stability is finally influenced by economic gains, and to the extent that such regions perceive a sense of economic deprivation of a continuing nature, there is a possibility of restiveness which ultimately will have to be grappled with through non-developmental measures, and that certainly is not the best way.

I am coming to the end of my points. I think for the ameliorating imbalances across the regions, development agencies like NABARD or the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and its Research and Development package or agricultural extension agencies or the corporate bodies which are involved in rural based industries or agro-based industries will have to be more efficient and more cautions in re-aliguing their traget of activities with regional criteria. I think on the balance of payments situation, I would not like to dwell much. But the fact remains that in the debt equity ratio we are touching 20 per cent which is just about the highest point of tolerance level of a stable economy becasue the economies which had to be bailed out, had really touched 25 per cent plus. We would like to think that the macro economic management of this country is going to be very cautious in this regard. Oud debt equity artio taking in tenal as well as external debt, needs caution and care.

In the end, Mr. Vice-Chairman, there are disturbing portents at the price level, at the employment level, at the level of regional imbalance. As a result, the economic Ministries must deliver better and in an expeditious way. The Finance Minister can provide, and has provided, resources. Perhaps, as a firm and imaginative leadership, as a first step, he is generating resources But he would need the support and effective support of the corresponding economic Ministries at the level of the States and at the Central level also.

There are political points which are related to economic issues. We have heard enough of political rhetoric on this floor and outside the floor. I am not going to respond in political terms. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, economic management, either at the micro level or at the macro level, requires a political will, demonstrated political will of the nation collectively with a consensus on an agenda. To the extent the recent rhetoric and noise has created a lot of political dust which turns out now to be irrelevant, it gives us the impression that we have inadvertently or for some perhaps consciously pushed the economic development agenda beyond the pale of priority in the country. To the extent we have done that, we have done a great disservice to the country.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI H. HANUMANTHAPPA): Please conclude now.

PROF. CHANDRESH P. THAKUR: I would like to think that under the leadship of the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister the country is back to economic agenda of developmental planning of implementing economic development progammes. That is the final solution in nation building whether socially or politically, internally or externally. From that point of view, I would like to suggest that the Government should get the support from all sections of the House in this regard.

Thank you very much.

PROF. C. LAKSHMANNA (Andhra Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, taking advantage of the Appropriation Bill which is before us, I would like to attempt a brief assessment of the performance of the Government in terms of the Plan and in terms of the Budget for the current year.

I would like to deal in terms of the prices, growth rate, investment and deficit financing. Mr. Vice-Chairman, if we take the prices, if I say that the Government has failed miserably it will be an under-statement. Any epithet to describe the incapability and inefficiency of this Government will not be sufficient. But, I will not indulge in that. I will only try to show how it has failed on the price front. If we take the wholesale price index even, if we see two comparable periods, October, 1986 and October, 1987, it was 8.41 per cent in the year 1987 in October, whereas it was 6.7 per cent last year for the same month. When the price situation is such, the inflation, even in the month of September, was already crossing into double digit. Whatever might be the claims made by either the Finance Minister or the Planning Minister, there is enough evidence to prove that it crossed into double digit. During the same period last year it was about 9.5 per cent. With regard to consumer price index, it is 10.2 per cent this year in the month of September, while it was 9.2 per cent in the same month last year. Now in order to go into the details with regard to the prices, we take one important commodity—grains. There has been a rise of 12 per cent in the wholesale price of grains this year, whereas there was a marginal fall last year. Therefore, if we look at the marginal fall of last year and the 12 per cent rise of this year, you can understand the extent to which the common man, the poor man, in this country is affected. Then take pulses. There has been a rise of 14 per cent. The rise has been so alarming that it was even accepted by the Government and they had to resort to imports. Now, it is the same thing with the consumption goods

Now, not only has there been a rise in the grain prices, prices of the pulses etc. and the consumption goods, but there has also been a rise in the administered prices. If you take the fibre group, the wholesale index has given a rise of 51 per cent. During the same period last year it was 30 per cent. In non-food articles the rise has been 26 per cent, whereas it was one per cent last year.

We now come to milk and milk products, fruits and vegetables and edible oils. I think it is anybody's common experience how there has been a rise in the prices of milk and milk products, so much so there have been bans on some types of milk products. In regard to the fruits and vegetables if you ask the housewife in any city or in any place in the rural areas, she will convincingly tell us the sufferings she has to go through and the type of budgeting she has to effect in order to meet the rise in prices of fruits and vegetables.

In the edible oils there has been a 31 per cent price rise over what was 27 per cent last year. That means there has been a cumulative rise in the edible oil prices. Therefore, again the situation had become so alarming, which has been accepted by the Government, that it started resorting to imports.

Now, if there had been rise in the prices either of consumption goods or of grains or of pulses or of edible oils or of vegetables, it is all of two orders. One order is normal. It is made out that it is due to unprecedented drought and, of course, also due to floods at some places. But then it is not merely because of the drought and floods, it is also because of the official policies. For instance, there has been rise because of the revision in the electricity and coal charges and so on. They have also contributed to the rise in the prices.

This is about the situation in the prices. How alarming it is and how it is affecting the common man in particular especially the one who is not able to make his both ends meet even after a day's toil of his entire family, is anybody's guess.

If this is the position what about the growth? The Plan claimed that there would be an average overall growth rate of five per cent It also claimed that during the first two years of the Seventh Plan it was almost around 4.9 per cent. And this year most of the economists who had gathered in Delhi to have a mid-term assessment of the Plan were almost unanimous that the growth rate for the current year may be anywhere not more than 2.5 per cent The estimates from different economists were between 1.5 per cent and 2.5 per cent Economists like Dr. Malcolm Adiseshaiah, Prof. Brahmanand, Dr R. C. Dutt and so on and so forth participated in it All of them were almost unanimous that whatever may be the claims and counter-claims, the growth rate for the current year will not be more than 2.5 per cent Therefore, assuming that in the next two years, they will be able to improve, even then the average growth rate may be around 4.3 per cent and the trend growth rate would not be more than 3.7 per cent. That means the much talked about 'Hindu growth rate' is, perhaps, being maintained by this Plan and by the present Government also Rajkrishna had coined that term 'Hindu growth rate' The overall trend growth rate for the Seventh Plan would be 3.7 per cent. That means we are still grazing around the 'Hindu growth rate' Malcolm Adiseshiah tried to look as to why there had been a fall in the growth rate. He said that in the first two years there was a lower inflationary rate. But that was a misleading lower inflationary rate because of two reasons. He attributed this to the lack of the purchasing power of the people who belonged to weaker section, more particularly, the larger sections of the people was low and there was therefore, no effective control on the inflationary effect in the country. Therefore, it was apparently a low inflationary rate.

Secondly, he has also said that there was a lot of black money operation. I think about black money operation, nobody questioned, everybody has accepted. Therefore, the amount of black money which is now dictating terms in terms of inflation, in terms of prices, in terms of economy is unimagineable. Therefore, that is one of the reasons why there was tending to be a lower inflationary rate. He has also said that because of the flight of the capital this lower rate of inflation has occurred. This flight of the capital is something which is very sensitive for this Government. The whole question arose because there was flight of capital and the flight of capital was taking place from the genuine sources of the Indian economy to the foreign banks. And, therefore, certain names were comigg forth and if that was investigated, this Government became so sensitive and appoints a Commission and the Commission's terms were such that it is only interested in finding faults with the officials who did their work efficiently or a Minister who was trying to clinch the matters. I think the less said the better about it. But there has been a flight of capital and even the Government after all this has to accept when they have to investigate about a particular case of Shri Ajitabh Bachhchan and that they will not impound the passport etc., because he is supposed to be cooperating with the Government. The problem is we have to appreeciate the cooperation of those who are considered to have been FERA violators If an enquiry was instituted there must have ben *prima facie* case for FERA violation. But still we would be satisfied if he says "I will cooperate with you." But if the same cooperation is forthcoming from somebody else the Government won't accept it. This is the state of affairs in which we are placed.

[Prof. C. Lakshmanna]

Then, I was talking about the growth rate. What about the agricultural growth rate? What was the stipulated growth rate? It is 4 per cent. By any stretch of imagination 4 per cent growth rate of agricultural produce cannot be there. One important segment of contribution for this was through foodgrains. In the year 1984-85 we had reached an all time foodgrains production of 153 million tonnes. But subsequently it fell down to 149 million tonnes. We have never been able to go beyond that. This is what has been achieved. This is not what has been the target. Therefore, the growth rate has to be considered not only in terms of what has been achieved over a period of time before the commencement of this Plan but also what was targeted. If you take both into consideration and the likely fall in the production of foodgrains this year, the 4 per cent growth rate in agricultural production can never be attained. But still we are being assured that 4 per cent growth rate will be there at the end of the Plan. Now actually the same economists have stated that the growth rate is likely to be 3 or 4 per cent and the growth rate of foodgrains alone sometimes estimated to be minus eight to minus nine per cent. So this is the position. With regard to this only, Prof. Brahmanand cautioned the country as to what has to be done. In industrial growth rate, we hope to attain 8 per cent and it was even claimed in the first two years, it went up to 8.8 per cent. From third year it will not be more than 6.1 per cent or 6.2 per cent, especially in the manufacturing sector, about 6.1 per cent which was in 1985-86 has come down to 5.1 per cent in the year 1987-88 on the basis of 1970-71 year as the base and if you take subsequent years as the base, perhaps even this will not be the case. Now, I would like to state that there are two facts about the growth rate. One is, there is a recession in the economy. I would like to warn this country and this Government that they should not be complacent that there is no possibility of recession in this country. If you look at U.S.A. where there is acute recession today, what are the three factors which are contributing towards this recession? The disparity in income, inequality in incomes between the highest and the lowest, this has been one factor. One section is interested in speculation; one section is interested in binding Another section is not able to get even the minimum. They are unable to make their both ends meet. That is the situation. Secondly, there has been imbalance in the balance of payments position Even the economy like U.S.A. today is under the pressure of balance of payments especially with regard to Yen and Mark. There is imbalance of payments position. Both these countries have gained such an upper hand that there is an imbalance in the balance of payments position. Thirdly, there has been an increasing debt even in U.S.A. One estimate is that debt in U.S.A is equivalent to the debt position of Argentina, Brazil and one more country put to together in Latin America. This is the reason why there has been an acute recession in U.S.A. Can we say with confidence that all these three factors which have contributed to recession there do not exist in India? Disparity in income between the rich and the poor is more in India. The balance of payments position has been no better because what was estimated to be exports and what was estimated to be imports, there has been imbalance even though we have been making efforts to improve exports; we have not been able to curb imports. One estimate is that whatever was estimated to be the import for the entire Plan was only done in the first two years. Now we have got necessary imports, necessary evil of imports namely, edible oils and pulses and so on and so forth. Therefore, with this type of import bill and not very encouraging export bill, the balance of payments position is not very secure The economy is in doldrums. Therefore, there is every possibility of great recession in this country if

ou do not take adequate steps right the beginning.

Now I will come to investment. here is bound to be a fall in the in-stment. This has been the verdict most of the economists. Why? It s based on certain sound arguments. irstly, the non-Plan expenditure has gone up as a result of drought and loods in the country and secondly, ·ise in Government expenditure and hirdly, staggering tax structure. Finally, the public sector deposits are not able to contribute their profits. But I would like to add one more and that is unless you make the workers, the managers, the persons who are toiling in the public sector participate in the management, unless he is made to realise that he has to contribute ·nd what is being contributed is loughed back into the production process, unless he is made to realise that he is contributing to the economy of the country, unless this awakening comes in the worker, in the manager and so on and so forth, in the public sector, whatever may be the efforts made, they will not succeed One of the solutions for the problem of the public sector would be, to a great extent, the participation of workers. Now, I will come to the last two points.

The Vice-Chairman, (Shri Jagesh Desai in the Chair)

Mr. Vice-Chairman, there had been a growing deficit in the budget I had an occasion to say, while I was participating in the budget debate in this House, that King Canute cannot solve the problems. Canute, in logic, has worked in this country. The Prime Minister stated that he would not allow the deficit to increase from Rs. 5,688 crores. But taking into account the external loans and debts for which we are going, taking into account the internal debt through bonds, with nine per cent interest etc., and taking into account the fiscal policy that is being followed, this Appropriation Bill and similar bills of its kind, there is the possibiity of the deficit growing by at least Rs. 1000/- crores. Sir, the receipts in 1986-87 and 1987-88 will be approximately the same. It was Rs. 101,401 crores in 1986-87 It will be about Rs. 106,424 crores in 1987-88. Look at the disbursements. You look at the expenditure. There are three items of expenditure. One is development expenditure In 1986-87 it was Rs. 64,789 crores and this year it is likely to be Rs. 64,922 crores. The second is non-developmental expenditure. It was Rs. 34,116 crores. In the present year it is likely to be Rs. 39,522. Assuming that the other expenditure would be the same—last year it was Rs. 2496 crores and in the previous years it was Rs 2014 or 2106 crores and so on and so forth—the deficit is going to be almost about Rs. 1200 or Rs. 1300 crores. That means, by any stretch of imagination, it is going to be more than what the Prime Minister said, fifty-eight something. Our experience also shows that. In the previous year, there had been a jump in the deficit from three thousand odd to almost eight thousand odd. If that is the case, as I have already pointed out, the possibility of the deficit going up is very high. Even if an economic pandit tells one that we will be able to have the same deficit, one cannot believe it. The Prime Minister said we would minimise expenditure and so and so forth. But, on the other hand, there has been additional expenditure on drought. It was estimated to be Rs. 2000 crores all put together. In the name of drought this Government is trying to hoodwink people. It wants to make it Rs. 3000 crores and tell the people it has been able to maintain the deficit. They cannot have more taxes. I will tell you why. As early as on the last day of the last session, the approval of Parliament was sought to raise the fares of first class etc. in trains and also in airlines. Today it is 10th December 1987. If I am not incorrect, there has been no rise in the fare of airlines. Why? What is the reason? Having sought approval of Parliament—Parliament gave the approval, though grudgingly—why have you not

4.00 P.M.

[Prof. C. Lakshmanna]

implemented it? It means, even if the Government wants, it will not be able to do it On the other hand, some of the concessions given in the name of liberalisation of economy, in the name of giving a spurt to the economic activity and industrial activity, are going against the very spirit of this country's economy. Therefore, taking an overall picture of all these things I warn this Government that we are marching into a deficit syndrome, we are marching into the debt trap which the World Bank is trying to lay before us. The other day the World Bank was saying, "India has not yet reached the debt trap." It means either it wants India to fall into the debt trap or it knows India is falling into the debt trap but has not yet come to that. Either way it is a warning and it is a warning which should be well taken by any well-meaning Government. I hope Government will heed the warning and do something on all these fronts so that the economy can be put back on the rails I am pretty certain that this Government is not capable of doing it. I am pretty certain that it will not be able to take any decision because, in the name of working faster, indecision has been the motto of this Government. The only solution to this situation is the Government should resign and ask for a mid-term poll and give the people a choice to exercise their will afresh.

श्री राजनाथ राय (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सरकार ने जो यह विनियोग (संख्यांक 5) विधेयक, 1987 यहां प्रस्तुत किया है, उसका मैं समर्थन करता हूं। हमारे देश ने पिछले 40 वर्ष में विकास-शील देशों के बीच बहुत विकास किया है। लेकिन सरकार से मेरा निवेदन यह है कि अर्थव्यवस्था को और मजबूत बनाने के लिए सरकार को कृषि के क्षेत्र में, ग्रामीण विकास के क्षेत्र में ज्यादा प्राथमिकता देनी चाहिए और सरकार को अधिकाश पैसा भारत के कृषि विकास और ग्रामीण के ऊपर खर्च करना चाहिए।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदया, हम ने सातवीं योजना का मसविदा जब स्वीक हुआ तो उस समय देश की नेता श्रीम इंदिरा गांधी ने भी योजना की उपलब्धि पर जोर दिया था। सातवीं योजना की प्रस्ता में आप देखें—छठी पचवर्षीय योजना के प्राक्कलन में, इंदिरा जी ने हम लोगों को याद दिलाया था कि किसी योजना का माप य कसौटी, उद्देश्य या आशय होकर उपलब्धि होता है, आवंट ना होकर लाभ होता है। यह सातवीं योजना के संदर्भ में भी उतना ही सार्थक है जितना वह पिछली योजनाओं के संदर्भ में है। इस प्रकार सातवीं योजना का प्रभाव इस बात पर निर्भर होगा कि हम कितने निश्चय और कितनी गंभीरता से उसका कार्यान्वयन करते है। सातवीं योजना के दस्तावेज में ऐसे अनेक क्षेत्र दिए गए हैं, जिनमें हमें अ ने पिछले कामकाज के मुकाबले काफी सुधार करना होगा। योजना के लक्ष्यों और उद्देश्यों को प्राप्त करने के लिए यह अनिवार्य है। यहां पर इन समस्या क्षेत्रों पर विस्तार से विचार-विमर्श करना संभव नहीं है। तथापि, क्योंकि योजना की सफलता के लिए इनमें से कुछ समस्याओं के उपयुक्त प्रभावशाली समाधान निकालना जरूरी है, कुछ प्रमुख समस्या क्षेत्रों का संक्षेप में हवाला देना उचित होगा।

सबसे पहले योजना के वृषि लक्ष्यों को प्राप्त करने के लिए कृषि उधार प्रणाली को पुनःस्थापित करना और नई शक्ति प्रदान करना जरूरी होगा। कृषि की निवेश आवश्यकताओं को कृषि उधार प्रणाली द्वारा पर्याप्त रूप से वित्त पोषित किया जा सके इसके लिए यह बहुत जरूरी है कि अतिदेय यानी "ओवर-ड्यू" की बढ़ती राशियों पर कड़ाई से नियंत्रण किया जाय। दूसरे, कृषि और ग्रामीण प्रशासन की गुणवत्ता में काफी सुधार जरूरी है। अगर हमें कृषि के क्षेत्र में वैज्ञानिक भावनाको स्थापित करना है तो सरकारी आधारभूत स्तर के प्रशासन के तकनीकी ज्ञान और कौशल को बहुत अधिक सुधारना होगा। जिला और ब्लाक स्तर पर योजना कार्य की जड़े अभी मजबूत नहीं हो पायी है। जिला स्तर, ब्लाक स्तर, ग्राम स्तर पर योजना कार्य को प्रभावी

बढ़ाए बिना गरीबी उन्मूलन के विभिन्न कार्यक्रमों के जरिए धनराशि के अत्यधिक प्रवाह का प्रभाव सीमित ही रह पाएगा। तीसरे, हमें परिवार कल्याण कार्यक्रम को न केवल मूल कार्य नीति बल्कि उसकी वैश्विक वस्तु को भी नए नजरिए से देखना होगा ताकि जनसंख्या की वृद्धि दर में और अधिक तेजी से कमी आ सके। चौथे, केन्द्र और राज्यों—दोनों ही जगह सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र के उद्यमों की उत्पादकता, दक्षता और आन्तरिक संसाधनों के सृजन में बड़े सुधार लाने होंगे। गहन पूंजीगत उद्यमों में आन्तरिक संसाधनों का सृजन विशेष रूप से कमजोर है और यह बात खासतौर पर बिजली, कोयला इस्पात, परिवहन और उर्वरकों जैसे क्षेत्रक में बहुत स्पष्ट है। संग्रह की प्रक्रिया में, सार्वजनिक क्षेत्र अपनी कुशल भूमिका निभाने योग्य हो, इसके लिए नई प्रशासनिक संरचनाएं और प्रबन्ध की नई संकल्पनाएं आवश्यक हैं। राष्ट्रीय विकास के सभी चरणों में लोगों की सार्थक सहभागिता प्राप्त करने के लिए हमें प्रभावी उपाय करने आवश्यक हैं। राष्ट्रीय निर्माण के कार्यकलापों में लोगों की शक्तियों को जुटाने के लिए हमें पंचायती राज संस्थाओं की संभाव्य क्षमताओं को पूरी तरह प्रयोग में लाना चाहिए इसके साथ साथ, हमें विकास कार्यों में संलग्न स्वयंसेवी संगठनों द्वारा प्रस्तुत सृजनात्मक संभाव्य क्षमताओं का भी पूरी तरह उपयोग करना आवश्यक है।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे देश में योजना, राष्ट्र के मूल लक्ष्यों और उद्देश्यों को प्राप्त करने का एक उपकरण है। महात्मा गांधी का स्वप्न था कि अपने देश के प्रत्येक और हरेक व्यक्ति की आखों के आंसुओं को पोंछा जाये। योजनागत विकास के रास्ते पर चलने की शुरूआत में हमारे देश ने जो बड़ी प्रगति की है उस पर गर्व करना हमारे लिए उचित ही है। परन्तु अभी भी काफी बड़ी संख्या में ऐसे लोग है जिनकी आंखें गीली है। इसलिए हमारा काम स्पष्ट है। हमें पहले से भी कहीं अधिक गहन अभियान गरीबी के विरुद्ध शुरू करना है। हाल के अनुभवों से पता चलता है कि आधुनिक विज्ञान और प्रौद्योगिकी की शक्तियों के उपयोग से अब पहले की अपेक्षा यह सुनिश्चित करना अधिक संभव है कि अधिकांश मानव जाति का चिरकाल तक गरीब बने रहना अपरिहार्य नहीं रह गया है। गरीबी हटाने के लक्ष्य को प्राप्त किया जा सकता है। परन्तु यह नहीं मान लिया जाना चाहिए कि विकास मुफ्त भोजन के समान है। रहन सहन का स्तर उच्च उत्पादकता के मामले से जुड़ा हुआ है। इसके लिए [illegible] होता। अवश्य [illegible] जुटाने और [illegible] तथा सामाजिक विकास की गति को [illegible] रखने के लिए सख्त निर्णय जरूरी होंगे। इसके साथ ही हमें कई संरचनाओं नए दृष्टिकोणों, नई नैतिकता सहित जरूरत है। आप चाहें तो कह सकते है कि ऐसी सांस्कृतिक क्रांति हमें लानी होगी, जिसमें राष्ट्रीय लक्ष्यों के प्रति समर्पण, प्रतिबद्धता हो, उत्कृष्टता की खोज पर बल हो ताकि हम दुर्लभ राष्ट्रीय संसाधनों का अच्छे-से-अच्छा संभव उपयोग कर सकें। हमारा काम आसान नहीं है। अनेक चुनौतियां और अनिश्चितताएं हमारे सामने है। परन्तु हमारे देश में अत्यन्त नम्रता, लचीलापन और शक्ति विद्यमान है। इसने अतीत में अनेक तूफानों से टक्कर ली है। अपनी जनता की प्रकृति और आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार उपयुक्त विकास के स्वायत्त मार्ग को खोज निकालने के संकल्प में हमारा राष्ट्र कृत-निश्चय है। सातवीं योजना, अभाव की चिंता और शोषण से मुक्त नवीन भारत के निर्माण के लिये एक विशद राष्ट्रीय प्रयास की छवि प्रस्तुत करती है। इसके उद्देश्य, कार्यनीतियां तथा कार्यक्रम इस तरह से तैयार किए गए है कि वे राष्ट्र के सदा से सजोए लक्ष्यों की प्राप्ति में सहायक सिद्ध हों। यह योजना प्रगति, समृद्धि, सामाजिक न्याय और आत्मनिर्भरता के रास्ते पर अधिकाधिक तेज गति से आगे बढ़ाने के लिए भारतीय जनता की सामाजिक आकांक्षा की एक अभिव्यक्ति है। मुझे विश्वास है कि राष्ट्रीय एकता और अनुशासन की भावना से मार्ग दर्शन प्राप्त करके हमारे सभी लोग इस योजना के सफल कार्यान्वयन के लिए पूरी तत्परता, उत्कृष्टता और गंभीरता से काम करेंगे।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि हमारा विकास बहुत हुआ है, लेकिन सरकार को इस परिवार नियोजन के कार्यक्रम को युद्ध-

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

स्तर पर लागू करना होगा। जब एक परिवार-नियोजन को राष्ट्रीय जीवन का सबसे बड़ा उद्देश्य नहीं बताया जाएगा हम जो भी विकास करेंगे, वह कम दिखाई देगा। उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, यह कितने दुख की बात है कि विरोधी दलों के नेता जो हमेशा सदन में उठते-बैठते, सोते-जागते, दिन रात केवल सरकार की उपलब्धियों की आलोचना करते है, उनके मन मे राष्ट्र और समाज के समस्याओं का कोई स्पष्ट हल नही है और वे स्वस्थ आलोचना नही करते, बल्कि मध्यावधि चुनाव करा दो, या सरकार इस्तीफा दे दे, इसी प्रकार के अनर्गल प्रलाप किया करते है। इस पर गंभीरतापूर्वक विचार करने की जरूरत है। जब हिन्दुस्तान आजाद हुआ, तो यहां की आबादी 35 करोड थी और यह चीथड़ो में लिपटा हुआ था। यह उस समय नंगा, भूखा और कंगाल हिन्दुस्तान था। आज आजादी के 40 वर्षो में हमारा हिन्दुस्तान न नंगा है, न भूखा है और न ही कंगाल है। आज हिन्दुस्तान ने बड़ी प्रगति की है। जितनी प्रगति होनी चाहिये थी, उतनी तो नही हुई है, यह हम मानते है, लेकिन हम ने जन-तांत्रिक माध्यम से समाजवादी समाज की स्थापना का संकल्प किया है। एशिया और अफ्रीका के जितने देश हैं, उन सब मे हिन्दुस्तान ही एक ऐसा देश है, जिसने जन-तांत्रिक तरीके से पिछले 40 वर्ष में इतनी प्रगति की है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया की छठी एटामिक पावर है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया की छठी स्पेस पावर है। आज हिन्दस्तान दुनिया का तीसरे नम्बर का टैक्नीकल-नो-हाऊ वाली पावर है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का चौथे नम्बर का फर्टिलाइजर टैक्नोलाजी जानने वाला देश है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का आठवां इण्डस्ट्रीयल पावर है। आज हिन्दुस्तान दुनिया का छठा एग्रीकल्चरल पावर है। आज हिन्दुस्तान एक शक्तिशाली भारत बन चुका है, लेकिन जनसंख्या के कारण, बढ़ती हुई आबादी के कारण विकास का शिशु पन नही पाता। जनसख्या के राक्षस ने विकास के शिशु को दबोच दिया है। जब तक जनसंख्या पर सरकार नियंत्रण करने के लिये युद्ध-स्तर पर कोशिश नही करेगी, हमारी उपलब्धियां नजर नही आयेगी। आठवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना जो सरकार बनाने जा रही है, मैं सरकार से निवेदन करूगा कि उस मे आठवी पंचवर्षीय योजना का सब से बड़ा लक्ष्य जनसख्या पर नियंत्रण होना चाहिये। विनियोग विश्लेषक के माध्यम से इस पर बोलते हुए मैं सरकार से निवेदन करना चाहता हू कि आज बाढ़ और सुखाड़ दो हिन्दुस्तान की ऐसी समस्याये है, जिन पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करने के लिये सरकार को अपनी आठवी पचवर्षीय योजना मे प्रथमिकता देनी होणी। आज हमारा उत्पादन घट रहा है। देश के कुछ इलाके में बाढ़ है और देश के कुछ इलाके मे सुखाड़ है। सुखाड़ और बाढ के कारण आज पूरे देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था नष्ट हो रही है। हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ व्यवस्था का मूल आधार कृषि है, ग्रामीण विकास है और कृषि का उत्पादन तब तक नही बढ़ सकता, जब तक बाढ़ और सुखाड़ की समस्या पर हम गम्भीरता से विचार नही करेगे। हिन्दुस्तान मे 1160 मिलीमीटर रेनफाल होती है और इसका आधे से ज्यादा पानी नष्ट हो जाता है। आधे पानी को, लगभग 40 प्रतिशत पानी को हम इस्तेमाल कर पाते है। वह पानी वही बाढ़ के रूप मे हमारी फसल को नष्ट करता है और कही सुखाड़ के रूप मे हमारी फसल नष्ट हो जाती है। मै निवेदन करना चाहता हूं कि पहले खेती करने के लिये किसान को हल और बैल का इस्तेमाल करना पडता था। वह कुवे से पानी निकाल लेता था। अपने गाय, बैल और भैस के गोबर का इस्तेमाल फर्टिलाइजर के रूप में कर लेता था, अपने बैलों से खेतों को जोत लेता था और इस तरह से उत्पादन होता था और यही सब चीजे किसान का आधार थी। लेकिन वर्तमान सदर्भ मे कृषि का काम बिल्कुल बदल गया है। आज जिसको-

खेती का काम करना है, उसको अपने खेतों में ट्रेक्टर का इस्तेमाल करना पड़ता है, पेस्टीसाइड और इंसेक्टिसाइड का इस्तेमाल करना पड़ता है, आज किसान को फर्टिलाइजर का इस्तेमाल करना पड़ता है और उसे अपनी खेती में काफी पैसा लगाना पड़ता है । वह अब पुराने तरीके से खेती नहीं कर सकता । अगर बाढ़ आयेगी, तो जो फर्टिलाइजर कर्ज लेकर किसान ने इस्तेमाल किया है, जो पेस्टीसाइड इस्तेमाल किया है, जो कोआपरेटिव बैंक से कर्ज ले कर ट्रेक्टर का इस्तेमाल किया है, वह सब फसल नष्ट हो जाने से नष्ट हो जाता है और बाढ़ आने से किसान कर्जदार बन जाता है । वही हालत सुखाड़ की है । अगर कर्ज लेकर किसान ने खेती में पैसा लगाया है और सूखा पड़ गया, उसकी फसल नष्ट हो गयी, तो वह बर्बाद हो जाता है । भारत सरकार से मेरा निवेदन है कि यदि हिन्दुस्तान के सात लाख गांवों की सर्वे कराया जाये तो मालूम होगा कि आज हिन्दुस्तान के 90 परसेंट किसान कर्जदार हैं, क्योंकि खेती बिना पूंजी के, बिना पैसे के नहीं हो सकती । आज खेतों की जो पैदावार है, उसका उचित मूल्य भी किसानों को नहीं मिल रहा है । इसके कारण किसान अपने गांव छोड़ कर शहरों की तरफ भाग रहे हैं । अगर सरकार पूरे देश का सर्वे कराये तो मालूम होगा कि आज शहरों की तरफ भारी संख्या में लोग भाग रहे हैं और दिल्ली, बम्बई, कलकत्ता और मद्रास जैसे बड़े शहरों में जा रहे हैं, क्योंकि वहां पर आसान जिन्दगी जीने का सुअवसर मिलता है । ग्रामीण इलाके उजड़ रहे हैं, ग्रामीण अर्थ-व्यवस्था चौपट हो रही है, क्योंकि कृषि के ऊपर जो खर्च होता है, वह भी उनको नहीं मिल पाता है ।

श्रीमन्, आजादी की लड़ाई के समय महात्मा गांधी जी ने कहा था कि गांवों की तरफ चलो । इसीलिये कहा था कि हिन्दुस्तान गांवों में बसता है । जब तक गांवों का सर्वांगीण विकास नहीं होगा, तब तक हमारी आजादी सार्थक नहीं होगी । हमारे देश का विकास तो हुआ है, लेकिन हमारे यहां की सारी दौलत कुछ मुट्ठी भर लोगों के हाथ में केन्द्रित हो रही है । किसानों के खेतों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के दाम उनको ठीक से नहीं दिये जा रहे हैं, लेकिन कारखाने में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के दाम बढ़ते जा रहे हैं । हमारी सरकार को दाम बांधो नीति अख्तियार करनी पड़ेगी, खेतों और कारखानों में पैदा होने वाली चीजों के दामों को निर्धारित करना पड़ेगा । जब तक सरकार इन दामों को समय-बद्ध कार्यक्रम के अनुसार नहीं करेंगी, तब तक गांव उजड़ते रहेंगे, खेती उजड़ती रहेगी, किसान गांव छोड़कर भागते ही रहेंगे । हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का मूल आधार कृषि है, एग्रिकल्चर है, हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का मूल आधार हिन्दुस्तान के गांव हैं ? यूरोप की अर्थ-व्यवस्था का मूल आधार शहरीकरण है, औद्योगीकरण है । पूरे यूरोप की सभ्यता शहरीकरण के ऊपर आधारित है । पूरे यूरोप का विकास औद्योगिकरण के बाद हुआ है । 16वीं शताब्दी के बाद हुआ है, लेकिन हिन्दुस्तान का विकास कृषि पर निर्भर करता है । हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था खेती पर निर्भर करती है । गांवों के विकास पर निर्भर करती है । इसलिये सरकार को अपने दृष्टिकोण में भारी परिवर्तन करना पड़ेगा ।

श्रीमन्, पहली पंचवर्षीय योजना से लेकर सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना तक हमने प्लान तरीके से हिन्दुस्तान का विकास किया, हिन्दुस्तान ने भारी तरक्की की, हिन्दुस्तान ने विकास किया । इस विकास को हम कम नहीं कह सकते, लेकिन आजादी की लड़ाई के दौरान जो महात्मा गांधी ने कहा था कि गांवों का विकास होना चाहिये, वह हम नहीं कर सके । इसीलिये लोग गांवों को छोड़कर शहरों की तरफ भाग रहे हैं और शहरों की जनसंख्या बढ़ती जा रही है । शहरों के लोग गांवों

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

की तरफ नहीं भा रहे हैं। जाहिर है कि शहरों में सुख-सुविधायें ज्यादा हैं, आमदनी ज्यादा है, साधन ज्यादा है, लेकिन गावों में वे उपलब्ध नहीं हो रहे हैं।

आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमें यूरोप के विकास को मद्देनजर रखते हुए हिन्दुस्तान की अर्थ-व्यवस्था के ऊपर गम्भीरता से विचार करना होगा। आज कांग्रेस पार्टी का कोई विकल्प नहीं है, आज राजीव गांधी का कोई विकल्प नहीं है, मगर हिन्दुस्तान की जो डिस्टेबिलाइजेशन की फोर्सेज हैं, अस्थिरता की ताकतें हैं, वह आज हिन्दुस्तान को खत्म करना चाहती है, वे हिन्दुस्तान में बलवा करना चाहती हैं। छोटे-छोटे झगड़ों में बटे हुए विरोधी दलों के लोग जिनके पास न कोई कार्यक्रम है, न नीति है, न कोई सिद्धान्त है, न विकल्प प्रस्तुत करने की क्षमता है, उनके माध्यम से मुल्क में अनार्की हो आ सकती है। वे मुल्क में ऐसा वातावरण पैदा करना चाहते हैं, जिससे हमारे विकास की जो गति है, वह धीमी पड़ जाये।

The alternative to Congress is anarchy. The alternative to Rajiv Gandhi's leadership is chaos and confusion

आज हिन्दुस्तान में कोई विकल्प नहीं है। जो भी हमारे विकास की गति है, उससे हम खुश नहीं है, उसको हम तेज करना चाहते हैं। जिस विकास को हम अपने 'लाड तरीके से करना चाहते थे, एक बार इस मुल्क के अन्दर कांग्रेस सत्ता से हटी, ढाई, तीन वर्ष के लिये उस समय जनता पार्टी नाम की चीज आई थी। वे तीन वर्ष तक आपस में कुर्सियों के लिये लड़ते रहे।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : वह जनता का स्वर्णिम काल था। उस ढाई वर्ष में कीमतें तय हुई थीं। जनता समझती थी कि हमारे लिए अब सब चीजें मिल रही हैं। तीस साल तक जनता समझती रही थी कि जंगल का राज है। (व्यवधान)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय इन ढाई-तीन वर्ष के समय में जनता सरकार में सभी पार्टियां थीं—लोक दल थी, जनता पार्टी थी और दूसरी पार्टियां थीं। हिन्दुस्तान की, कांग्रेस को छोड़कर, सारी राजनीतिक पार्टियां मिल कर जनता पार्टी बनी थी। इन ढाई वर्ष में यह जनता पार्टी अपनी पंचवर्षीय योजना भी नहीं बना सकी। कुछ नेता कहते थे कि हमारा योजनाओं में विश्वास नहीं है। कुछ कहते थे कि प्राइवेट सेक्टर शुड आकापाई द कमांडिंग हाईट आफ द इकोनोमी। कुछ कहते थे कि पब्लिक सेक्टर शुड आकापाई द कमांडिंग हाईट आफ द इकोनोमी। इसी बात पर तीन वर्ष तक, ढाई वर्ष तक लगातार आपस में लड़ते रहे और अपनी योजना का मस्विदा भी तैयार नहीं कर सके। देश की अर्थ-व्यवस्था चरमरा कर टूट गयी। देश में विकास के नाम पर एक परसेंट भी काम नहीं हुआ। देश का सोना बेच दिया, मुल्क को नीलाम कर दिया। देश की सारी अर्थ व्यवस्था को चौपट कर दिया। सन् 1977 में जब इन्दिरा गांधी ने सत्ता को छोड़ा तो उस समय हिन्दुस्तान में 30 हजार मेगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन हो रहा था। सन् 1977 से 1980 के बीच में एक हजार मेगावाट भी बिजली का उत्पादन नहीं बढ़ा। सन् 1980 में जब दुबारा से इन्दिरा गांधी सत्ता में आयीं तो 1985 तक 30 हजार मेगावाट से बढ़ाकर 45 हजार मेगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन किया। हमने 7वीं, 8वीं योजना में 22 हजार मेगावाट बिजली का अतिरिक्त पैदा करने की योजना बनाई है। विकास की बुनियाद है बिजली। विकास की बुनियाद है ऊर्जा। मैं जानना चाहता हूं कि जनता पार्टी के राज में क्या एक हजार भी मेगावाट बिजली का उत्पादन बढ़ ? जनता पार्टी ने कौन सी योजना बनायी ?

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह इमरजेंसी ने सब कुछ खत्म कर दिया था (व्यवधान)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय जनता पार्टी ने कौन सा काम किया ? इन्दिरा गांधी

के जमाने मे जो बफर स्टाक थ, जो गल्ले का उत्पादन थ, उसे खुले आम जनता पार्टी ने अपने टाइम पर बांटना शुरू कर दिया थ । जो सोने का स्टाक था उस सोने की नीलामी करना शुरू कर दिया थ । (व्यवधान)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : खजाने का सोना नही थ । जब्त किया हुआ सोना थ । (व्यवधान) आप गलत बात मत कहिए । जब्त किया हुआ सोना नीलाम किया था । (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : आप बैठ जाइये । जब आपकी पार्टी का नम्बर आयेगा तब बोलियेगा । (व्यवधान)

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : जो सोना जब्त किया था उसे बेचा था और उसने बाजार के चीजों के दाम तय किये थे। जनता के लिए यह स्वर्णिम काल आया था । (व्यवधान)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : आपकी पार्टी को मौका मिलेगा तब बोलियेगा ।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : बड़ी बदकिस्मत की बात होगी अगर जनता पार्टी के लोग यह कहें कि उस समय का ढ़ाई तीन वर्ष का समय हिन्दुस्तान की जनता के लिए स्वर्णिम काल था । जनता के सामने कहोगे तो जनता मार कर निकाल देगी । (व्यवधान) एक काम जनता सरकार ने किया था कि जो स्मगलर्स थे, जो होर्डर्स थे, जो ब्लैक मार्किटियर्स थे, जो समाज के दुश्मन थे और जिनको 76 मे इन्दिरा गांधी के समय मे जेलो मे गिरफ्तार किया गया था उन सब को छोड़ दिया। ढोलकिया को छोड दिया, सारे देशद्रोहियों को आपने जेल मे छोड दिया । (व्यवधान) आदरणीय उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हाजी मस्तान को छोड़ने, ढोलकिया को छोडने और स्मगलर्स को छोड़ने का काम जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने किया । यही जनता पार्टी की सरकार की उपलब्धि रही है । समाज के दुश्मनो और देश के दुश्मनों को छोडने का काम जनता पार्टी की सरकार ने किया है ।

आखिरी बात मे यह कहना चाहता हूं कि हमारे देश की और विश्व की नेता श्रीमती इन्दिरा गांधी ने कहा था --

India once did not join the industrial revolution. It was the reason for the slavery of India. If India will not join the technological revolution, India cannot protect its freedom.

एक बार हिन्दुस्तान ने औद्योगिक क्रांति मे भाग नही लिया तो लंकाशायर के कारखानो ने हिन्दुस्तान की सारी सम्पत्ति को लूट लिया, लेकिन, अब अगर हिन्दुस्तान ने साइंस और टेक्नोलौजी की क्रांति मे भाग नही लिया तो हिन्दुस्तान कही का भी नही रहेगा । इसलिए हमारे नेता, देश के नेता श्री राजीव गांधी ने तकनीकी और टेक्नोलौजिकल क्रांति का नारा दिया है । साइंस, तकनीकी और टेक्नोलोजी के माध्यम से देश की गरीबी हटाने की बात उन्होने कही है । टेक्नोलौजी के माध्यम से उन्होने देश से गरीबी हटाने का संकल्प लिया है । साइंस और टेक्नोलौजी का इस्तेमाल करके हम ग्रामीण क्षेत्रो से गरीबी को हटा सकते है । लेकिन मैं यह कहना चाहता हू कि पहली पचवर्षीय योजना से लेकर सातवी, आठवी और नवी पचवर्षीय योजना तक गरीबी हटाने के लिए आज सबसे अधिक जिस चीज की जरूरत है वह है भारत मे जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण होना चाहिए । मेरा यह आग्रह है कि जनसंख्या नियंत्रण के सवाल पर हिन्दुस्तान के प्रधान मंत्री हिन्दुस्तान के सभी राजनैतिक दलो को बुलाकर एक राष्ट्रीय मतैक्य स्थापित करें। भारत के दूरदर्शन और रेडियो के माध्यम से सभी राजनैतिक दलो को, विरोधी दलों के नेताओं को, कांग्रेस पार्टी के लोगों को आम जनता को यह बताना चाहिए कि अब हमारे मुल्क में जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण किये बिना कोई विकास नही हो सकता है, जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण किये बिना हम इस देश की अर्थव्यवस्था को मजबूत नही बना सकते है । जनसंख्या के बढते हुए राक्षस ने विकास के शिशु को दबोच लिया है, इस तथ्य

[श्री कल्पनाथ राय]

को लोगों को बताया जाना चाहिए। इसलिए भारत को विकास के मार्ग पर ले जाने के लिए मैं सरकार से विनम्र निवेदन करते हुए ये कहना चाहूंगा कि जनसंख्या पर नियंत्रण स्थापित करने के लिए ठोस और दीर्घकालीन कदम अविलम्ब उठाये जाने चाहिए। इन शब्दों के साथ मैं इस विनियोग विधेयक का समर्थन करता हूं।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र (बिहार) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मुझे भरोसा है कि आप समय के बारे में हमारे ऊपर कुछ कृपा करेंगे।

वित्त राज्य मंत्री अनुपूरक विधेयक लेकर सदन में आए है और उन्होंने हवाला दिया है कि हमारे देश में जो सूखा और बाढ़ आई है उसको ध्यान में रखकर खर्चों की राशि बढ़ाई जा रही है। कई बार भारत सरकार के इकनोमिक सेंसस की भी चर्चा की गई है। कुछ इकनोमिक सेंसस ऐसे दिखाई देते है, जैसे कि जो संपदीय कमेटियां अपने काम के लिए इधर-उधर घूमा करती थी उन पर रोक लगा दी गई है। लेकिन मैं सरकार से पूछना चाहता हूं कि किस इकनोमिक सेंसर के अन्दर यह उदाहरण बैठता है? चालीस वर्षों में एक भी ऐसा उदाहरण खोजने को नहीं मिलेगा कि भारत सरकार के कैबिनेट की मीटिंग दिल्ली से बाहर हुई हो। आज जब देश में सूखे और बाढ़ के कारण तबाही हो रही है, केबिनेट की मीटिंग सरिस्का अभयारण्य में बुलाई जा रही है। समाचार-पत्रों के माध्यम से पता चला है कि सरिस्का अभयारण्य में बुलाई जा रही है। समाचार पत्रों के माध्यम से पता चला है कि सरिस्का अभयारण्य में बिस्कुट कहीं बाहर से ले जाये जा रहे है, जापान से, कालीने बाहर से आ रही है, किसी दूसरे देश से फर्नीचर मंगाया जा रहा है। मैं राज्य मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूं कि इस केबिनेट की मीटिंग के पीछे कितनी राशि खर्च हुई है? मेरा आरोप है कि पचासों करोड़ रुपये की राशि एक मीटिंग के अंदर खर्च हुई है। महोदय, मैं एक दूसरा उदाहरण देना चाहता हूं। इसी भारत के अंदर पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू... (**व्यवधान**)... पचासों करोड़ रुपया खर्चा हुआ है यह मैं जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह रहा हूं कि पचासों करोड़ रुपये की फिजूलखर्ची की गई।

महोदय, इसी देश में स्वर्गीय पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू प्रधान मंत्री हुए, स्वर्गीय श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री जो प्रधान मंत्री हुए, स्वर्गीय श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी प्रधान मंत्री हुई है। महोदय, इनमें से किसी को भारत में चलने वाले हवाई जहाजों में कोई असुविधा का कारण नहीं दिखाई दिया और देश के अंदर जिस प्रकार के हवाई जहाज थे भारत के ये प्रधान मंत्री उसी से यात्रा करते थे। मैं चाहूंगा कि राज्य वित्त मंत्री इसको कंट्राडिक्ट करें कि आज के नौजवान प्रधानमंत्री जो आयु में सबसे कम हैं, श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी, श्री लाल बहादुर शास्त्री, पंडित जवाहरलाल नेहरू और बीच में कुछ दिनों के लिये गुलजारीलाल नन्दा और मोरारजी देसाई आये. किसी भी प्रधान मंत्री से आयु में कम है और वे कम से कम बूढ़े अथवा बीमार और रोगी नहीं दिखाई देते, वे नौजवान प्रधानमंत्री है लेकिन वे देश के अंदर जो प्रचलित हवाई जहाज है उसमें वे यात्रा नहीं कर सकते है। हवाई जहाज में सोने के लिये अलग व्यवस्था, उसके लिए अलग सामान और इस तरह से कई हवाई जहाजों को रखकर उन्होंने एविएशन का 5 करोड़ रुपये बरबाद किया है।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : क्या असत्य है।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : बिल्कुल सच है मैं यह पूरी जिम्मेदारी के साथ कह रहा हूं।

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : यह असत्य है। सोने की व्यवस्था नहीं है।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इसकी जांच कराने के लिये एक कमेटी बनाई जाये।... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : यह सच नहीं है, ये एकदम असत्य बात बोल रहे है असत्य बात बोलने का अधिकार इनको नहीं मिलना चाहिए।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : पार्लियामेंट की कमेटी गठित की जाय जो इसकी जांच करे ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : महोदय, एकानामिक चार्जर्स जो उठाये जा रहे है उसके सबंध मे मै कहना चाहता हू कि कुछ साल पहले देश के महान अर्थशास्त्री राजा चलैया की अध्यक्षता मे कालेधन की खोज करने के लिये एक कमेटी बनाई गई थी । एक साल हो गया अनुसशा प्रस्तुत किये हुए और इसमें कई बिन्दु उठाये गये है कि इस बारे मे सरकार को ये कदम उठाने चाहिए । 30 हजार करोड़ रुपये से ज्यादा भारत के नागरिको का धन विदेशी बैको मे जमा पडा हुआ है । मै मंत्री महोदय से जानना चाहता हूं कि आपने एक साल के अदर उस कालेधन को निकालने के सबंध मे कौन से कदम उठाये है ?

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : जनता सरकार ने क्या कदम उठाये थे ... (**व्यवधान**) .. जनता सरकार ने तीन वर्षो मे क्या किया ... (**व्यवधान**) ...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : एक हजार, पांच हजार, दस हजार के नोटो को बंद करके ब्लैक मनी को जूतों के तले रौद दिया।... (**व्यवधान**) ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : आप बैठ जाइये ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : महोदय एक वर्ष से ज्यादा हो गया राजा चलैया कमेटी की रिपोर्ट को प्रस्तुत हुए लेकिन सरकार द्वारा इस संबध मे अभी तक कोई भी कदम नही उठाया गया है । कालेधन को निकालने के लिये कोई कदम नही उठाया गया । महोदय फेयर फैक्स पर जो ठक्कर-नटराजन कमीशन सरकार द्वारा बिठाया गया था उसकी रिपोर्ट देखने से साफ लगता है कि भूतपूर्व वित्त मत्री श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिह को गाली देने के लिये यह कमीशन बिठाया गया। आप उसमे आरोप लगा रहे है कि उस संस्था के चेयरमैन हर्षमैन कभी सी आई० ए ...

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : एजेन्ट थे ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : ...एजेन्ट नही थे उसके कार्यकर्त्ता थे इसके वर्कर थे अध्यक्ष थे आपको इसकी पूरी जानकारी होनी चाहिए । ... (**व्यवधान**) ... लेकिन मैं जानना चाहता हू कि हमारे प्रधान मंत्री नौजवान श्रीमन् राजीव गाधी पंजाब के अन्दर पेप्सी कोला की फैक्टरी बैठाने का निमत्रण दिया । ... (**व्यवधान**) ...वे कौन है ?

श्री कल्पनाथ राय : कहां बैठाये है ? परमिशन नही मिल रही है । उसको कैंसिल कर दिया है । क्या कह रहे है आप ? ऐसी अनर्गल बात कर रहे है जिसका कोई आधार नहीं है । कह रहे है पेप्सी कोला की इंडस्ट्री पंजाब में लगाई है। उसको इंडस्ट्री मिनिस्ट्री ने परमिशन ही नही दिया (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : आप उनको बोलने दीजिए ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : उसके चेयरमैन एक महीने पहले इसी दिल्ली में रहे है । इनका नाम डा केंडाल, यह निक्सन के मित्र है । दिल्ली के अन्दर जब वाम पंथी सरकार बन गई और इनको लगने लगा कि इनका बिजनेस अब डावाडोल है तो सी आई०ए के लोगो मे मिल कर के वहां के राष्ट्रपति की हत्या भी केंडाल ने करवाई । केंडाल कैसे भारत मे आए ? कैसे उसके साथ साठगाठ शुरू हुई ? (**व्यवधान**) आप फेअरफैक्स की बात कर रहे है । मुझे समाचार पत्र देखकर के आश्चर्य हुआ । आप फेअरफेक्स के बारे मे कहना चाहते है । उसकी कार्यवाही क रोक कर जो 30 हजार करोड़ से अधिक राशि विदेशी बैको में भारतीय लोगो की जमा है उसको निकालने के लिए आपने कौन मे कदम उठाये है ? कितने रुपये खींचे है कितने रुपये आपने उसमे से प्राप्त किये है ? यह आप बताइये कि एक रुपया भी आपने विदेशी बैकों में जो जमा था उसको वापिस भारत मे लाने की कोशिश की है । आज मै अखबार पढ रहा था जिस में छप है कि–

'Ajitabh is co-operating with Government'

मुझे लगता है कि यह समाचार छापने में कुछ कनफ्यूजन हो गया है । समाचार यह होना चाहिये था–

Government is 'co-operating with the Ajitabh'

[श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र]

तीन हफ्ते के अन्दर इंडियन एक्सप्रेस बिल्डिंग पर छापा मारा और 46 मुकदमे आपने दायर किये, फेरा का उल्लंघन करने वाले अजिताभ बच्चन ने जो विदेश में महल खड़ा किया है उसके ऊपर आपने कौन सा मुकदमा दायर किया है। इसी राज्य सभा मे एक प्रश्न आया है हमारे मित्र श्री शकर सिह वाघेला और प्रमोद महाजन जी ने प्रश्न किया कि क्या सरकार को टाइम्स आफ इंडिया के प्रकाशक मैसर्ज बैनेट कोलमैन एड कंपनी के श्री अशोक जैन द्वारा 50 हजार डालर से अधि. धनराशि को नेशनल वेस्ट-मिनिस्टर बैंक यू के के माध्यम से स्विटजरलैंड स्थित एक बैंक मे स्थानान्तरण किये जाने के सम्बन्ध में 29 मई 1987 के स्टेट्समैन में प्रकाशित एक टैलेक्स संदेश की जानकारी है ? उत्तर दिया जा रहा है इस समय इस बारे में बताना जनहित मे नही होगा। यह भारत सरकार का उत्तर है। यह प्रश्न किस दिन आया है, यह प्रश्न 8 दिसम्बर, 1987 को आया। यह खबर भारत के अखबारो मे पहले छपी जिसमे दिया हुआ है। मई, 1983 मे इसकी जानकारी प्रकाशित हो गई। इतने दिनो मे भारत सरकार की इसकी जानकारी नही मिली है। हम आज देश की जनता के साथ कौन से खेल खेल रहे है। बोफर्स के द्वारा कमीशन लिया गया सैकड़ों करोड़ का कमी लिया गया, 200 करोड़ से ज्यादा है। (**व्यवधान**) आज सरकार अजिताभ को बचा रही है, जो अशोक कुमार जैन विदेशी बैंको मे राशि जमा करा रहा है उसको बचा रही है। वह सरकार बोफोर्स कम्पनी से लिये गये सैकड़ो करोड़ रुपये के कमीशन को किसी कीमत पर उजागर नही करेगी। इसमें तो लीपापोती करने के लिये कदम उठाये जा रहे है। महोदय, सरकार कैसे काम कर रही है ...(**समय की घंटी**) अभी बिहार के इंटरमीडियेट कालेजेज के शिक्षक पहा लगभग एक महीने से धरने पर बैठे हुये है। भारत सरकार के शिक्षा विभाग ने 10 प्लस 2 प्लस 3 की शिक्षा की नीति बनाकर देश भर क आदेश दिया कि यह लागू करो। बिहार सरकार ने 1980 मे एक कदम उठाया, 10 प्लस 2 के अनुसार इंटरमीडिएट कालेजो को बाकी के कालेजो से अलग किया, एक अध्यादेश 1980 में निकाला फिर एक 1983 मे निकाला, फिर 1985 मे निकाला और फिर उसके बाद 1987 में निकाला। इस बीच मे क्या हुआ ? 600 इंटरमीडिएट कालेजेज बिहार मे खड़े हुये हैं, सरकार ने उसमें से 205 को मान्यता दे दी है। मान्यता तो दे दी लेकिन बिहार में एक अनोखी मान्यता की प्रणाली चल गयी है, 300 डिग्री कालेजों को मान्यता दी गयी है, 205 इंटरमीडिएट कालेजो को मान्यता दी गयी है और मान्यता देते समय कहा गया है कि यह वित्त रहित मान्यता है। शायद यह सदन समझ नही पायेगा कि वित्त रहित मान्यता क्या है ? एफीलियशन दे दिया बिदआउट फाइनेशियल एड। परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि 80 हजार शिक्षक और शिक्षेत्तर कर्मचारी इन महाविद्यालयों मे काम करते हुये भूखो मर रहे है, भीख मागते हुये दिखाई पड़ रहे है। केन्द्रीय सरकार के राज्य शिक्षा मंत्री महोदय के पास प्रतिनिधि जाते है तो वे कहती है कि हमने रुपया बिहार सरकार को भेज दिया है। बिहार के शिक्षा मंत्री से जब शिक्षक जाकर मिलते हैं तो वे कहते है कि हमको तो केन्द्र से इसके लिये रुपया नहीं आया है, केवल नीति का निर्देशन केन्द्र सरकार ने कर दिया है ? लेकिन हमको इसके लिये राशि नही आ रही है। महोदय, परिणाम यह हो रहा है कि इंटरमीडिएट कालेजो के टीचरो की अभी तक न पोस्टस क्रीएट हो रही है न सेक्शन हो रही है, न कर्मचारियों का वेतनमान बन रहा है, न कैटेगरी बन रही है, न वेतनमानो का निर्धारण हो रहा है, इतना बड़ा कि आस इस सरकार के अन्तर्गत चलता है। आप नयी शिक्षा नीति की और हर जिले में एक नवोदय विद्यालय की घोषणा कर देते है लेकिन जहा 80 हजार शिक्षक और शिक्षेत्तर कर्मचारी है जरा कल्पना करिये कि उसमे पढ़ने वाले छात्र कितने त्रस्त होगे। तीन लाख से ऊपर है, उनके भाग्य पर पानी फिर रहा है, उनके भविष्य के सामने सब प्रकार अंधेरा दिखाई पड रहा है। यहा शिक्षा विभाग मे कोई नही है मै राज्य वित्त मंत्री जी जी को कहना चाहूगा कि जरा शिक्षा विभाग को आप खबर दीजिये कि बिहार के इंटरमीडिएट कालेजो का क्या हो रहा है। बिहार के उन डिग्री कालेजो का क्या हो रहा है जिनको वित्त

रहित मान्यता मिली हुई है, सरकारी कोष से एक पैसे की सहायता नही हो रही है। आप राहत और सहायता की बात कर रहे हैं . . . ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : अब आगे नही, आपके 16 मिनट हो गये है।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : सिर्फ दो मिनट । 1760 करोड़ 49 लाख का अनुपूरक विधेयक लेकर आप आये है और अखबारो के माध्यम से पता लगा कि जो बिहार बाढ़ से पूरी तरह बरबाद हो गया है, माज उसे 86 करोड़ रुपये की सहायता देने की घोषणा की गयी है और जो राशि अभी तक गयी नही है। आपको शायद पता नही है कि हेलीकाप्टर ले जा रहे है, हेलीकाप्टर से सर्वेक्षण कर रहे है और डूबते हुये मरते हुये लोगों के दर्शन कर रहे है । इससे अभी तक बिहार सरकार के हाथ से 105 करोड खर्च हुये है इतनी बड़ी बरबादी है । जिस बिहार सरकार ने 740 करोड की मांग की और यह कहकर माग की कि यह 740 करोड़ अगर नहीं दिया गया तो प्रति व्यक्ति आय में सब राज्यों से नीचे पिछड हुआ बिहार इतना पीछे चला जायेगा कि 10 वर्षो तक फिर उठ नही सकता है । आप इस विषय मे क्या कर रहे है . . . (व्यवधान) आप टैक्स बढा रहे है । ऐसी चीजों के ऊपर टैक्स बढ़ा रहे है, विचार नही कर रहे है कि देश में . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : अब आगे नही । आपके 17 मिनट हो गये है ।

श्री कैलाश पति मिश्र : महाराष्ट्र से एक खबर छपी है कि हाथ से बनने वाले सूत पर भी एक्साइज ड्यूटी लगा दी है और इससे लाखो हथकरघे बन्द हो गये है। सरकार ये गलत कदम उठा रही है। सरकार को देश दिखाई नही पड रहा है। इन्ही शब्दो के साथ मै अपना भाषण समाप्त कर रहा हूं।

DR. H. P. SHARMA (Rajasthan): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Supplementary Demands for Grants presented before the House. We can well understand and appreciate the pressures and compulsions which have forced the Government to come before this House with these Supplementary Demands for Grants. The country is reeling under a kind of famine and drought, the like of which this country has not witnessed for the past hundred years, and it is well in the logic of things that in the Supplementary Demands, most of the money is being allotted for fighting the drought. Even the 300 crore which is being provided for fertiliser subsidy is also going to the welfare of the farmer.

One point which I would like to bring before this House is that the drought has completely changed its character which we must understand. Up till now, drought meant there was a failure of monsoon, there was scarcity of surface water and either sowing could not be done at the proper time, or the crops withered away due to scarcity of surface water. But now what I wish to draw your attention to is that the drought has acquired a totally alarming and sinister connotation—that is depletion of the sub-soil water. This is a very major problem and I think we would need to think of it, not on party lines or any other lines, but keeping our national prespective in view.

Before this, in the last 20 years, only 99 districts in 13 States had been catalogued as the drought-prone areas. But this year no less than 260 districts have come under the attack of drought.

Drought can be fought on two fronts. One is short-term strategy which is more in the nature of a fire-fighting exercise, or an exercise in crisis management. But essentially the fight would have to be carried

[Dr. H P. Sharma]

on a long-term basis. In the long-term basis also, there are two parts One is the exotic side of it, that we should be able to harness the sun power, the wind power, tidal power and be able to forecast with the aid of super-computers the coming of the monsoon and its strength But essentially what now appears to me to be the real pragmatic approach would be that we would require massive artificial ground-water re-charging. This is something we will have to think about. We will have to go through it. We will have to change our thinking about it For this ground water, re-charging, construction of percolation thanks, inverted wells sub-surface dykes would have to be undertaken This is why I have tried to say that we will have to think very deeply about it. I know that those measures will have to be taken in a normal year with a normal rainfall. When in a normal year, you start putting in inverted wells, and not the wells which we are used to seeing, for re-charging the sub-soil water, we can very well visualise the amount of noise or criticism that would be waged in the media, or in this House, or even by our own partymen, "look, why don't you dig more tube-wells rather than go on investing money on these inverted wells? That is why I said that we will have to go through a change in our thinking. All this knowledge would have to be carried to the farmer by the only agency available—the extension agency. Anything that is accomplished in our labs by our scientists should be carried to the farmer. And the agency for this is the extension agency. Now that is the weakest part of our strategy. I wish to point out to the Minister sitting here that unless you strengthen the extension agencies, all the fruits of our research in the laboratory will not go to the rarmers and they will not benefit at all.

Another point, just in passing, I would like to make is that even if we have normal rainfall next year, industrial production is likely to go down. That has been our experience even in the past. In 1965-66, a drought year, when there was a drop of industrial development, it was 0.4 per cent. But the next year, when there was normal rainfall, the drop in industrial production went down to 1.3. That shows that even if we have normal rainfall next year, we should be prepared Some economists have calculated that the drop can go from 1.8 to 3.5 per cent in the next year if we have normal rainfall.

One point which has been talked about in the country and in this House over and over again is that the public sector has, somehow, failed It was supposed to occupy a place of pride in resource mobilization and somehow it has failed to do that. The major reason has been the delay in implementation and the resultant cost escalation in the prices of these projects. There was a review of 100 projects in the energy and transport sectors. There couldn't be any thing more important than energy and transport sectors For the 100 projects the original estimate was Rs. 12,800 crores but, by the time we complete them they are likely to cost Rs. 21,000 crores, which means an escalation of some 60 per cent. Another study which took out 162 projects out of 290 public sector projects shows that the original cost was Rs. 27,500-odd crores, and by the time we come to finish them they would be costing us Rs. 47,000 crores, which means a cost escalation of 73 per cent. Here we do not depend on foreign countries for aid or grants. Here is something which is purely a matter of our own management, and somehow this country and our Administration should rise to the challenge and try to complete these projects within the stipulated time.

We have the Ministry of Programme Implementation. In some senses, I think, the Ministry of Programme Implementation should be the Number One Ministry-because the Ministry is supposed to take

care that all these projects will be implemented within time and within cost. Yet, the Ministry of Programme Implementation is more of a cataloguing Ministry It brings out a catalogue and says, here these are the original costs and these are likely to be the costs at the end. I really feel pity, but I must compliment them that they are very candid and honest about it. I will give just a couple of examples that I have got with me from the Ministry of Programme Implementation. Take the Calcutta underground railway. The original cost was supposed to be Rs. 140 crores and the revised cost is likely to be Rs 835 crores. There can be a marginal rise, there can be a little more than that. But when the jump is from Rs 140 crores to Rs. 835 crores, that is a cause of concern and we should do some rethinking about it. Again, take the Narora atomic power project, which is something very vital in our priorities. Its original cost was supposed to be Rs. 210 crores, but by the time we finish it would be Rs 552 crores. The original date of its commissioning was December 1983 and now it is supposed to be June 1989. So it will be six years later and with a cost escalation of 150 per cent. As I submitted earlier, we should do some rethinking and heart searching. Sir, about this I would suggest that the Ministry should be brought under the direct purview of the Prime Minister. I do not know if it is in my province here in the House to suggest this The Prime Minister of course, does his own formation of Ministries. But I would suggest and request that a Ministry as important as this, which can really pull us out of the mud of economic slump, should have somebody with the authority of Prime Minister and then alone it will be able to deliver the goods. I would like just to rush through a couple of points, and I will be done.

There has been a crisis in the production of edible oil. Out of ten countries which have offered us grant or loans, seven have listed that we should import edible oil. I would like to request you, Why should we import edible oil Why should we not import oilseeds? Sixty to seventy per cent of our oil manufacturing units have been closde today. The labour has been retrenched. Why should we not get oilseeds rather than oil? This I cannot understand. Even it is in the nature of grant, I think, the Government can certainly put its point across, that we would like to have oilseeds rather than processed edible oil as such. I do not want to go any further into the economics of edible oil.

References have been made about the rise in the prices by quite a few of our friends here. I certainly agree that even the smallest rise in prices hurts the poor man and much more so say, in the State from where I come, Rajasthan, a drought-stricken area Even if there is a marginal rise the slightest rise, it hurts But we should also try to see things in the real world perspective I would really request, through you, to friends like Prof. Lakshmanna. I am just putting the point across to you. What is the inflation rate in the third world countries? what is the inflation rate in the socialist countries? What is the inflation rate in Poland or in Yugoslavia? Over 100 per cent per year The same goes for Brazil, Mexico. I do not mean that we should have it that way. But we must not always run our achievements down. This is one request which I would like to make through you Mr. Vice-Chairman.

Sir, two more points, and I will be done. The Rajasthan Canal has been called a dream strategy for fighting the drought. It has going on for years and years. The cause for my bringing the point right now is that we are opening relief projects there. There is supposed to be a directive from the Centre that along the 50 mile or km. belt along the Rajasthan Canal no new relief works will be opened I can understand the thinking behind it, that the people will get busy in road construction and other things and that they will not go and do the work required for the Rajasthan Canal But, Sir, before you think of doing that, you must provide shelter during nights. Unless you have shelter there, unless you have provision for drinking water, unless you have food, these blanket ordinances are perhaps likely to do more harm than good.

[DR. H. P. Sharma]

I want to convey to you and my friends here in this House the tragedy —we do not understand it—that has struck the Rajasthan and Gujarat. We are used to reading it in catalogue Numbers 1, 2, 3. I do not think we really appreciate what is happening there. In Ajmer, for three days—mind you in three days—drinking water is supplied for less than one hour. In the city of Beawar in three days only 35 minutes of supply of drinking water was there. Is Rajasthan or Gujarat a separate part? I am not talking right now from the State point of view but from the national point of view.

Sir, I would like to submit just one thing. I did not know about Ladhak Till you visit it, any amount of reading or anything you do, unless you have been to these difficult areas, you do not have the correct comprehension of what it is like there. Until I went to Ladhak, I can tell you, I had read all the amount of literature and everything else, but I had no comprehension of the kind of problems they are faced with The same thing I would request, that a committee of some Members from this House should go and visit. They must visit. No amount of reading will convey to you the tragedy that is occurring there Please go and visit. You will see something new. By the time you come back, you will feel proud in the nation's efforts, in what we are doing.

Last point. Even while we are engaged in these major challenges, there are still small things. I would like to point out this small thing. But it hurts a State like Rajasthan There is a matter of some payment of some bills. This has been there for quite some time between Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Because the payment of bills has not
5.00 P.M. beensettled, Madhya Pradesh, is not fulfilling its commitment of supplying power. Should these be the consideration at such a fine? I am not trying to blame Madhya Pradesh as such. There can be misunderstandings. But even in this hour of challenge must we insist on the payment of these bills before we can restore power supply?

I think I have made these little points. I would conclude by saying that we should be proud of the job that we are doing and fighting a kind of drought about which quite a few of us have no comprehension at all

SHRI M. S. GURUPADASWAMY (Karnataka): It is my view that the economy of the country is heading for a decline. It is heading for a decline in several areas—in the area of employment, poverty alleviation, price stability, growth, distribution of benefits of development and so on. I think *Gresham's Law in Economics* is already operating i.e. bad coins are driving out the good coins. Today we are facing a multi-dimensional crisis in the country's economy. At this juncture what we normally expect from the Government is utmost care, vigilance, discipline and proper regulation of resources. To quote only one instance, the non-plan expenditure is increasing at a galloping pace compared to plan expenditure. It has been brought out by the latest report of the Reserve Bank. To quote the figure, Plan and non-Plan expenditure had increased by 9.2 per cent and 17.3 per cent respectively over the Budget estimates for 1986-87. This trend is not reversed. It is not only being continued, but is really escalating The resources position is very acute in spite of the fact that there has been a considerable mobilisation of resources through taxes and other means. I think the national economy has gone out of control. The trends are very disturbing. We have not been careful to conserve our resources, either internal resources or foreign exchange resources. A class or group of people who include corrupt bureaucrats and corrupt politicians seem to be controlling the commanding heights of our economy. It is not the public sector which is controlling the commanding heights It is the group of corrupt elements who are controlling the commanding heights of our development. Since I have no time, I will deal with familiar themes to show

how we have been reckless and corrupt in our dealings

Sir, we have been aware of the German submarine deal. We have been told in the last session that Rs. 30 crores have been paid by the HDW firm in West Germany as commission to some agents or some middlemen, but there was a statement on behalf of the Government that no middlemen were there in the defence deals. That has been falsified and the German Government has taken a position in German Parliament itself that commissions might have been paid. On the 11th June, 1987 there was a question in the German Parliament. I quote:

"(i) When did the Government get information on the payment of commissions?

(ii) Does the Government know that HDW paid a commission of Rs. 300 million, that is, 43 million DM?"

The answer was again I quote:

"The Federal Government is aware that it is normal that commissions are paid in such deals. The directors of the firms have to decide if they pay how much and when."

This is the reply. This firm is controlled by the German Government itself. The Federal Republic of Germany owns about 75 per cent of the shares of this firm and a State Government of FRG owns about 25 per cent. I want to know from the Government whether they have asked the German Government to reveal the names of the persons or firms who have received that kickbacks as a result of this deal. We are told no Indian is involved. Maybe no Indians are involved May be some foreigners are involved with whom there is a link established by the Indians who stay here or abroad.

Besides this, this firm has also violated the contract. According to our information they have supplied designs and technical data to South Africa about the submarine. Under the contract they cannot supply this information to South African Government It is on the cards that they have supplied technical details to South Africa That means they know the design, the model and the capability of the submarines supplied by West Germany to us. It compromises our security. Further we are told that there is an inquiry against this firm at Bonn. It is called the Bonn Enquiry Commission and I am told some cabinet Ministers there also are involved in this deal besides officials of West Germany. All these things are known to us but still it is mysterious why the Government is withholding all this information from Parliament. I want to know specifically which Indian party has received the kickbacks of Rs 30 crores and who was directly responsible for negotiation of this deal? We are told that some sort of investigation is being done at the Government level. What has happened to that investigation?. It is a very simple matter. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has got to address a letter to his counterpart in West Germany and ask him to supply the information in respect of kickbacks paid to the party in this deal and the reasons for violation of the contract. But so far, I do not think anything has been done I suspect that the Government itself is involved. Sombody in the Government of India is involved in this deal and Parliament is entitled to know who was responsible for this deal, why no action is being taken in this regard.

I come to another deal. It is equally bad. There is Westland Helicopters deal, Westland helicopters supply by England.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Please conclude within five minutes.

SHRI M S. GURUDASWAMY: I have just finished half of my speech. Another half is remaining. Please bear with me.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): 12 minutes are already over.

SHRI M. S. GURUDASWAMY: Anyway, I will try to be brief. I referred to Westland Helicopters. Nearly 21 helicopters were supplies to India and one Pawan Hans, formerly the Helicopter Corporation of India was dealing with this. After we received these helicopters there have been grave doubts about the engines of these helicopters. The engines are defective and as a result of which the capability of these helicopters has been adversely affected. Far more disturbing factor is that these helicopters have to undergo third and fourth line maintenance. I am told, I am now quoting from a newspaper, "Sunday Mail" dated November 15th to 21st, 1987. It states:

> "The Westland deal was signed in October, 1985 at a cost of 68 million pounds.....

And the deal is silent regarding the payment to be made for third and fourth line maintenance and nobody knows who has to pay, whether the firm there or the Government of India. According to the information given here, Westland is demanding from Pawan Hans Rs. 14,000/- per hour for third and fourth line maintenance. In one thousand flying hours alone in a year we have to pay about fifty per cent of the cost of this helicopter. For a period of two years, the time of the operation comes to two thousand hours. The payment will be as much as the price of the helicopter itself, that is, Rs. 2.8 crores. And the paper says that whoever signed the 1985 contract without the maintenace clause should be hanged. The performance of this helicopter is far from satisfactory. Who signed this contract? Who was the Minister in charge? That has got to be investigated. We are paying these bills through our nose, and we are getting sub-standard helicopters. And the Government of India does not own any responsibility at all to it. It is scandalous to enter into such deals.

Thirdly, about Bachchans which has been raised often in this House and the other House. Till now, no enquiry has been launched against Ajitabh Bachchan though the Government is in full knowledge of the properties he has acquired in Switzerland. We all know that he owns an apartment which is valued at Rs. 80 lakhs or so. Where did he get this money from? He has made a lot of investments in Switzerland. He has made investments in two companies. I will give the names. 'Arcolab' is one company and the other is 'Acropharma'. In these two companies, there is an investment of nearly Rs. 3 crores. Where did he get this money from? Has any investigation been made? Has action been taken against Ajitabh Bachchan for the illegal investments made in Switzerland and elsewhere? Sir, it is known to all of us that Bachchan brothers have got an industry in Kandla and that is exporting goods to Soviet Union. And one, Gerard Finance Corporation, is involved in this and I am told that this corporation is controlled by Ajitabh Bachchan's brother-in-law whose name is Sunder Advani. I want to know whether Indian laws have been violated in such exports. I am told Indian laws have been violated. I would like to know whether any inquiry has been made. I would like to know why Government of India has not taken action against Ajitabh Bachchan under Section 50A of FERA for violation, and he can be prosecuted under Section 25(3) of FERA and he can be imprisoned for upto seven years for the violations. I want to know from the Minister whether the Government of India is adopting different norms for different people. My friend from Maharashtra, Kulkarniji, said so much about Reliance, Orkay Industries and others. I do not go into that question. But where are we? We are applying different standards to different people, different norms to different people in this country. There is flight of capital from India to abroad. Illegal in-

vestments are made. Yet nothing has been done. So far nothing has been done about Reliance. Therefore, I demand from the Government that they should make statements before the Honse soon and take us into confidence as to what measures, what steps, have been taken against Bachchan brothers for violation of FERA, for violation of other laws, what action is being taken in regard to West'and helicopter deal and what action has been taken about the submarine deal. It is all scandalous. Therefore, I demand a statement. I think the Government is suspect; important persons are involved; Ministers are involved. And if they want to clear themselves up, the only way is to make statements before the House and explain their position; otherwise, the credibility of the Government will be adversely affected. I am sure of that.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Mr. Vice-Chairman, the Finance Minister has come forward with supplementary demands for grants for Rs. 1780 crores. If we examine it, we will find the real position, that it is not so much. If we scrutinise it, we will see that out of this Rs. 815.31 crores are meant for drought and flood relief, and the Finance Minister has expressed the hope that it would be contained by the Budget itself. Then Rs. 399 crores are going to be raised through savings and increase in revenue and thus we find that the uncovered balance really is only Rs. 565 crores. Now, how essential this expenditure is can be found from the fact that out of this Rs 300 crores are going for fertilizers, Rs. 181.64 crores as assistance for Punjab and Rs. 50 crores as subsidy for new industrial units in backward areas. All this expenditure is essential. There has been criticism about fertilizer subsidy and it has been pointed out that Rs. 750 crores have already been given under this programme and that the real benefit does not pass on to the farmer but to the capitalist. But I may point out that had this subsidy not been given, the price of fertilizer would have gone up, according to official figures, by nearly Rs. 68 per bag of 50 kgs. I hope that the Government will examine this point thoroughly and ensure that the subsidy is not being taken away by the capitalists, but the benefit really goes to the farmers because the amount is a big one. I would also add that it is a matter of anxiet that the World Bank Team has forecast that the growth rate in GNP would be zero per cent this year We have to look into this and also the various statements made by the World Bank President when he was here. Of course, this has been debated here and questions have been asked. Therefore, I would not dwell on them at present and that would be a waste of time. Now, Sir, the Government is saying that inflation has not reached the double-digit figure and that they are importing edible oil and other things. They also say that the whole sale Consumer Price Index figure is only. 8 But the price rise on the ground affects all of us, particularly the people in the ruling party more. In the sense that we have to face public criticism. Everybody is feeling the pinch of the rising prices. You may be importing edible oils. But I would like to tell you that in my own State of U.P., mustard oil is being sold at Rs 32/- to Rs. 35/- per kilo'. So, all these things have to be looked into and you have to take some measures. The people have to be convinced of our sincerity in making all possible efforts because this is a very important point. You have to convince the people and you have to take some positive measures, some visible measures At least the thrust should be there because you say that the prices are not going up, but we do not really see that on the ground.

[Shri Kapil Verma]

When you go to the market, you will find that the prices of even vegetables are sky-rocketing. I need not really dwell on this point now. Yesterday, Sir, there was an uproar about cancer and I need not go into great detail about it. But one point I would like to make and since the Finance Minister is sitting here just now, I would strongly suggest that a heavy duty should be levied on tobacco so that it becomes really very costly and the high price discourages the people from using it. I was talking to an eminent doctor and he said: "You do not know on what type of volcano you are sitting on. You will see that it erupts soon." He also suggested that we must take some immediate measures to control this and we must at least publicise the evil effects of tobacco on the television and radio and dissuade people in a big way from consuming tobacco.

I am very happy to note that a settlement is being worked out with regard to the hill district of Darjeeling. It is inhabited largely by people of Nepali origin. But will crave your indulgence and invite your attention to what is really happening in the Nepal Tarai and am drawing your attention to a very important problem. Sir, between India and Nepal, there is a 500-mile long open corridor and most of the people living in Nepal, particularly in the Terai region, are of Indian origin. There are at least twenty to twenty-three lakhs of such people there who are without citizenship rights. I was posted in Nepal as Press correspondent—I was working for a reputed English newspaper of Delhi and know the actual conditions there and I have been in touch with the Nepalese people also who come to my place in Delhi even now. As I said Conservative estimates put the number of people of Indian origin at twenty to twenty-three lakhs who are without citizenship in Nepal even though they have been there for five or six generations. They have very little representation in the army, services and police. In fact, people from Tarai are seldom taken in the services they are not trusted. Other people from hill areas only are taken. You will be surprised to know that in the delimitation of constituencies there is discrimination. The size of constituencies in the Nepal Tarai is so big compared to the hills that the representation of people of Indian origin is very, very small. You must have also read in newspapers that work permits are being issued in Kathmandu since last year. Most of the people of India origin in Tarai who work there naturally ressemble Indians, and the local administration people tell them you are Indians; you cannot work here, and you cannot buy land here. The Nepalese people can buy land in Calcutta and other big cities. Huge areas are under their control. But the Indians cannot buy land there. In business also they have to find 50 per cent Nepali partnership. The Government of India must do something about it. They must look into these problems. We want them to be a very friendly neighbour. We have had age old special ties with them. I do not want in any manner to hurt their sentiments. We want very good relations with them. But certain undesirable things are happening. I do not want to name these countries. You know what kinds of things are being done against us by four or five countries in Nepal; you very well know. One is engaged in construction of roads even close to our border so as to displace us from Nepal. But what are we doing to educate the Nepali people about all this. The Chinese television and the Bangladsh television can be seen in Kathmandu. Their radios can also be heard there. But our television cannot be seen in Kathmandu nor can the All India Radio be heard there even in our border areas. This is characteristic of our interest in foreign relations. We have been raising these questions in various forums from time to time. This is a very important thing. All kinds of things are happening there. I do not want to name those powers working in Nepal. It is a very sensitive issue. But Nepal is going to give us much headache; this I can assure you. All kinds of people are coming there. We know what is happening there.

Before I conclude I would like to say that the House has already welcomed the Agreement between Russia and the United

States about the destruction of medium range nuclear missiles. We hope this effort will continue. We must not forget that this is the result of the good work done by India as a leader of the six nation five-Continent team. And I congratulate our Government and the P.M. for this. We hope that this effort will continue towards complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the World.

Thank you very much.

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र (बिहार) : उप-सभाध्यक्ष महोदय इस विनियोग विधेयक के जरिये जो रुपया सरकार ने मागा है साधारणतया बाढ़ और सूखे का वर्ष था तो इसमे कोई एतराज नही होना चाहिये लेकिन परिस्थिति इसके बिल्कुल विपरीत है । सरकार ने कहा है कि यह रुपया या इस रुपये का एक बड़ा हिस्सा हम राज्य सरकारों को देने के लिये प्रावधान कर रहे हैं । सच्चाई यह है कि जो सरचार्ज इन्होंने इनकम टैक्स पर लगाया है उसमें राज्य सरकारो को एक पैसा भी नही मिलेगा उल्टे साढ़े बारह परसेंट सरचार्ज लगाने से टोटल जो इंकनकम टैक्स का रुपया आयेगा उसमे स्टेटस का शेयर 85 परसेंट से घटकर के 82.2 हो जायेगा । आठवी वित्त कमीशन ने इनकम टैक्स का 85 प्रतिशत हिस्सा राज्यो को दिया है । इससे ज्यादा रुपया भी हम केन्द्र सरकारो को देने के लिये तैयार है और सरकार जो फिजूल-खर्ची कर रही है जिसमे इन्होंने बताया है कि एक परसेंट कटौती करेंगे अगर वह पांच परसेंट कटौती करते तो इसका पांच गुना ज्यादा रुपया यानी करीब दो हजार करोड रुपये उनको मिल जाता । हमारे देश मे कर वंचना की जा रही है । जो टैक्स इवेजन हो रहा है इसमें पाच परसेंट की कमी कर ले अरबो रुपये मिलेगे । अभी गुरुपादस्वामी जी ने डिफेंस डील के विषय में बताया कि कैसा भ्रष्टाचार है और सारा देश बोफोर्स कांड से तिलमिला उठा है । आप इस भ्रष्टाचार को रोके और 5 परसेंट कमी से ही बिगिन करें तो अरबो मिलेगे । आज मत्री स्तर तक में भ्रष्टाचार की बाते की जा रही है । रुपये की कमी नही है इस देश में सिर्फ सरकार के पास रुपये नही है । जो आपकी लापरवाही है उसके चलते इतना खर्चा होता है । कई माननीय सदस्यो ने और शासक पार्टी के डा शर्मा जी ने भी चर्चा की कि कास्ट मे ईस्कलेशन हो रहा है । इसमें अभी मैंने देखा कि इसके चलते 290 प्रोजेक्टस मे करीब 70000 करोड़ फालतू खर्चा हम कर चुके हैं, समय पर प्रोजेक्ट पूरा नही करने से यह फालतू खर्च है । यह कौन रोकेगा, किसको कहेगे । अगर इतनी नालायक सरकार हो तो फिर उसको पैसा क्यो देना चाहिये । अभी लास्ट ईयर का कोल प्रोजेक्टस का हिसाब आया है । कोयला उद्योग को मैं नजदीक से जानता हूं । इनके प्रोजेक्टस मे 49.5 परसेंट ज्यादा ईस्कलेशन आप कास्ट हुआ है, और रेलवे में 67.2 परसेंट ज्यादा कास्ट लगी है । अगर आप इस फिजूल खर्ची को नही रोकते है तो हमसे रुपया मागने फिर क्यों आते है न भ्रष्टाचार रोकेंगे, न टैक्स की चोरी रोकेंगे, न लापरवाही रोकेंगे, न फिजूलखर्ची करेंगे । यह साल अकाल और बाढ़ का वर्ष था । लेकिन दिल्ली मे क्या इसका लक्षण है । वही ठाट बाट, वही फाइव स्टार होटेल, फ्रिज, एयर कंडीशन सब कुछ चल रहा है । वहां राष्ट्र धू धू कर जल रहा है और यहा नीरो की बंसी बज रही है । राष्ट्र को कहां ले जा रहे है ? अकाल की भयंकरता मे तो हम फाइनेंशियल इमरजेंसी की बात सोच सकते हैं देश को बचाने के लिये, लेकिन यहां सरकारी खजाने की लूट है । इसी लिये मैंने कहा कि यह सरकार एक भी पैसा देने के लायक नही है और जितना भी दिया जायेगा वह फिजूलखर्ची मे आयेगा ।

अखबारो में रिपोर्ट आ रही है और दूसरे दिन मैंने उद्धरण भी दिया था कि लोग भूखे मर रहे हैं, उड़ीसा में मर रहे हैं । अखबारों ने चर्चा की थी और हमसे कहा था कि आप इसका कन्ट्राडिक्शन कीजिये । वह अभी तक तो नहीं किया है । इसी लिये मैं कहता हूं कि एक भी पैसा देने के लायक नहीं है ।

इस सरकार की पालिसी हो गयी है "ऋणम कृत्वा घृतम पिबेत" विदेशी

[श्री चतुरानन मिश्र]

कर्जा बेतरह बढ़ता गया है। राजीव गांधी जी इस देश के सदा के लिए याद रखें जायेंगे कि आजादी के 40वे वर्ष में उन्होंने भारत का विदेशी कर्जा 40 बिलियन डालर्स कर दिया। भारत विश्व का छठा सबसे कर्ज वाला देश हो गया है अगर अमेरिका को छोड़ दें। अमेरिका की बात बड़ी है। सुनते है उनसे इनकी अच्छी दोस्ती हो रही है। उसी रास्ते पर इतना कर्ज हो गया है। जो देश के भीतर का कर्जा है इसके बारे मे रिजर्व बैंक आफ इंडिया ने एक रिपोर्ट सरकार के सामने प्रस्तुत की है। उसमें है कि 1992–93 आते आते जितना मारकेट लोन ये लेते है उनसे कहो ज्यादा सूद और किश्त की चुकौती मे चला जायेगा। मैं उद्धरण पढ़कर सुनाना चाहता हूं :

"If the current trend in market borrowings by the Government continues, India might get into the situation of an internal trap by 1992-93, according to a Reserve Bank of India study, reports PTI.

This study, which comes to this conclusion on the basis of calculations done taking into account present trends, says 'a point of no return may be reached by 1992-93 when net market borrowings may not be sufficient to pay even interest on market borrowings'."

1992–93 आ ही रहा है और ये 21वी शताब्दी में जायेंगे भारत को बंधक रखकर। सन् 1992–93 में ही हम यहां पहुंच रहे है। प्रधान मंत्री मूल्य वृद्धि कराने के लिये भी विख्यात रहेंगे। अब डबल डिजिट महंगाई हो गई जो पिछले अनेक वर्षों मे नही थी। मैं इसकी चर्चा नही करना चाहता हूं कड़वे तेल दाल आदि की कीमत आसमान छू रही है। शासक पार्टी के भी सदस्यो ने इसकी चर्चा की है। तो हम कहां जा रहे हैं। गरीबों का यह हाल है कि हाहाकार मचा हुआ है और सरकार का यह हाल है कि कर्ज में डूबी हुई है। इस के अलावा केन्द्रीय सरकार ने अपने प्रोजेक्ट्स के बाजार ऋण का सूद कम दर इतना बढ़ा दिया है कि राज्य सरकारों को कर्ज मिलना मुश्किल है। मारकेट लोन फलोट भी करेंगे तो कोई लेने वाला नहीं होगा। कोई एकरूपता नहीं है। यह बरबादी हमारी आ रही है। इसीलिये हमने आपसे कहा कि यह सरकार "ऋणम कृत्वा घृतम पिबेत" की नीति पर है और हम शासक पार्टी के लोगों से कहना चाहेंगे कि ऐसा मत कीजिये, देश को वहां तक मत पहुचा दीजिये कि जहा से रिटर्न होने की बात न हो। एक तरफ अतिरिक्त कर्ज और विदेशी कर्ज का यह हाल है तो विदेश व्यापार का घाटा उसको हम कह कर क्या करेंगे सब जानते है कि उसमें हमारा 5-6 हजार करोड़ का सालाना बराबर घाटा लग रहा है। नान–प्लान का खर्चा तो बेतरतीब बढता जा रहा है। सरकार उसको रोकने में असमर्थ है। इन्होंने एक परसेंट रोका है, तो 400 करोड़ की बचत हुई है। सरकारी फिजूलखर्ची को कौन नहीं जानता है ? शासक पार्टी के लोग क्या नही जानते है कि सरकार मे क्या फिजूलखर्ची है चारो तरफ ?

क्या उसको रोका नही जा सकता है? कौन इस देश का मालिक है—न आप मालिक है हम तो है ही नही, तो है कौन मालिक, या वैसे ही नाव बिना पतवार के चली जा रही है ? यह हमारी हालत है।

जहां तक इनवेस्टमेंट और विकास दर की बात है, अभी शासक पार्टी के एक माननीय सदस्य ने कहा कि वर्ल्ड बैंक ने कहा है कि जीरो परसेंट ग्रोथ रेट होगा, इकनामिक टाईम्स का कहना है कि ज्यादा से ज्यादा 1.6 प्रतिशत होगा। हम कहा जा रहे है हमको बताइये कि किस बात के लिये आप पैसा चाह रहे है और किसके लिये ? उसमें भी आप सर्विस सैक्टर को हटा दीजिये जो साधारणतया एफलुएंट क्लास के लिये आप बनाते हैं। जन-साधारण के लिये आप कोई अच्छी व्यवस्था सर्विसेज की नहीं कर रहे है। जो कमाडिटी प्रोड-डयूसिंग सैक्टर है, मैनुफैक्चरिंग सैक्टर है उसका शेयर लगातार घटता जा रहा है। हमारे पास कम समय है इसलिये हम ज्यादा बात तो बोल नहीं सकते हैं, लेकिन हम कहना चाहेंगे कि आप इन बातों के लिये विख्यात रहेंगे ?

उसमें भी देखिये कि जो सातवीं पंचवर्षीय योजना है, गत तीन वर्षों में उसमें लक्ष्य के मुकाबले 1984–85 की मूल्य तुलना में 1100 करोड़ रुपये का कम इनवेस्टमेंट हुआ है तो हम कहां जा रहे है? जो आपने टार्गेट बनाया था उसको भी आप पूरा नहीं कर रहे है । यह सब हालत है ।

एक और बात के लिये राजीव गांधी विख्यात होंगे इस देश के इतिहास में कि जब से यह आये हैं, चालीस हजार इंडस्ट्रियल यूनिटस सिक हुये है, बन्द हुये है । अब इनकी तादाद एक लाख 47 हजार चली गई है पहले एक लाख कुछ थी । अभी तो आजादी के चालीसवें वर्ष मे उन्होंने चालीस हजार यूनिट बन्द कर दिया । हम समझते हैं कि वह भारत के पहले प्रधान मंत्री होंगे जिनको अवधि में सबसे ज्यादा इंडस्ट्रियल यूनिटस बन्द होंगे । इस बात के लिये भी वह विख्यात होंगे ।

मैं आपसे जिस बात की चर्चा करना चाहता हू वह यह है कि विश्व बाजार की हालत अत्यधिक खराब है और अगर कहिये, तो हम कोट करके आपसे कुछ कहना चाहेगे कि न हमको विदेशो से सस्ता दर का ज्यादा कर्ज मिलने की हालत है और जो वर्ल्ड का सिचुएशन हो रहा है, उसमें आपका माल भी विदेश में नहीं बिकेगा ।

डालर महाराज तो बैठते ही चले जा रहे है, उनको कौन कहां उठावेंगे सो पता नही चल रहा है । आप सोचें कि हम कहां जाकर अपना माल बेचेंगे, वहां तो प्रोटेक्शनिस्ट पालिसी जोर पकड़ रही है । वह आपका माल खरीदना नही चाहते हैं । यरोपियन कामन मार्केट में हमारी चीज की खपत नही है और उनसे हमारा घाटे का व्यापार है — जापान के साथ भी हमारा घाटे का व्यापार है ।

तो विश्व की आज जो हालत है, उसमें सस्ता मिलने नहीं जा रहा है । आप कमर्शियल बकों से कर्ज लेना शुरू किया है, किन्तु यही कर्ज लैटिन अमरीका के देशों को कमर्शियल बैंक से कर्ज लेना — इसी ने लैटिन अमरीकी देशों को डुबाया । विश्व बैंक का कहना है कि इस सातवीं योजना को बचाने के लिये आपको चार बिलियन डालर कर्ज में प्रति वर्ष जाना पड़ेगा । आखिर हम लोग जा कहां रहे हैं, और इसलिये हम कोट करते हैं इकनामिक टाईम्स को —

> "In this world economic scenario, India's external environment is likely to worsen with the widening trade deficit, hardening terms of trade, lower rate of growth of NRI remittances and the rising debt service ratio."

यह लगातार जो कठिन परिस्थिति है विश्व की, उसमें हमारी सरकार कुंभकरण की तरह सोई हुई है । वह नीरो की तरह बंसी बजाते हुये जब सारा देश जल रहा है अधोहरण होकर बैठे हुये है । इसलिये हम इनको एक भी पैसा देने के पक्ष मे नहीं हैं ।

दूसरी बात मैं इस सिलसिले में कहना चाहूंगा–अभी बाढ़ और सूखा की चर्चा शासक पार्टी के माननीय सदस्यों ने भी स्वतः की है । सरकार समझ नहीं पा रही है कि क्या सही है । इंटायर प्लानिंग फेल कर गई है । मैंने कई बार आपसे कहा कि जितने लोगों को आपने गरीबी की रेखा से ऊंचा किया था, पुजारी जी ने बहुत दिलचस्पी लेकर पिछली दो योजनाओं के अदर किया था । उससे ज्यादा लोग इस बाढ़ और सुखाड़ में बिलो पावर्टी लाइन चले गए, एक ही झटके में चले गए । हमारे बिहार में दो मिलियन से ज्यादा मकान ध्वस्त हो गए । शुरू से ले करके आखिर तक जितनी भी पंचवर्षीय योजनाएं हुई हैं हमने 5 लाख भी मकान नहीं बनाए थे, दो लाख भी नहीं बनाए थे और बीस लाख गृहविहीन हो गए हैं । हमारी क्या योजना रह गई है ? गुजरात के लोग जानते हैं कि जितने आपने वहां से अच्छी नस्ल के पशु ला करके बाकी राज्यों के हिस्सों में पशुओं की नस्लों को आपने अच्छा किया था उससे ज्यादा पशु वहां पर इस साल मर गए हैं कच्छ और दूसरी जगहों में सारी स्थिति खराब होती चली जा रही है । इसे रोकने के लिए आपके पास कोई योजना नहीं है ।

श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग (गुजरात) : अब बाढ़ आ गई सूखा आ गया। सरकार के हाथ में तो है नहीं।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : हां, सरकार के हाथ में है। जितना पानी हमारे यहां गंगा नदी में है वह हम कावेरी तक पहुंचा सकते हैं।

श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग : वह हो रहा है।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : कहां हो रहा है ? अभी नहीं हो रहा है। नेपाल से जितनी नदियां आ रही हैं वह सभी नदियां बाढ़ लाती हैं। हमने कई बार कहा है कि नेपाल सरकार से आप बात-चीत कीजिए। विशाल जलराशि पड़ी हुई है दूसरी जगह ले जाइये। लोग बेरोजगार है। वे आपके लिए काम करेंगे। देश को नई आर्थिक व्यवस्था देने की जरूरत पड़ गई है। अगर आप में चेतना हो तो एक नए धरातल पर सारे देश को ले जाने के लिए कोई सोशियो-इकोनोमिक प्रोग्राम बनाइये। अगर नही बनाते है तो कम से कम जल्दी से जल्दी गद्दी छोड़ दीजिए। कम से कम देश को बचाने की खातिर आप ऐसा काम कीजिए।

श्री मीर्जा इर्शादबेग : देश की जनता छुड़वाना नहीं चाहती है।... (**व्यवधान**)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : जनता तो छुड़वा देगी। ऐसा ही अगर आपका राज रह, जैसा प्रधानमंत्री आपको मिला है और जो आपकी नीति है उसमे जनता आपको शायद सदा के लिए न छुड़वा दे, इसकी चिंता कर लीजिए। यह ऐसी स्थिति हो रही है और देश कहा से कहा चला जा रहा है, इसलिए मैंने आपसे अनुरोध किया है। जहां तक इसमें कहा कि इंडस्ट्रीज के लिए इतना रुपया देते हैं, उप सभाध्यक्ष महोदय, हमारे बिहार में, मंत्री जी का ध्यान इस ओर हम आकर्षित करेंगे।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : चतुरानन जी, आप एक ही मिनट में खत्म करें। सिर्फ एक मिनट मे खत्म करें।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : वही करके खत्म करूंगा। भोजपुर मे तो इडस्ट्री डिस्ट्रिक्ट है। बिहार का एक जिला है भोजपुर, बाबू कुवर सिंह के नाम से विख्यात है। वहा पोलिएस्टर यार्न का लाइसेंस दे दिया गया। जमीन हम सब लोगो की बिहार सरकार ने ले लिया। उसमें तो जो हुआ वह तो आप जानते ही है कि क्या-क्या होता है। आप मंत्री रह चुके है। आपको मालूम ही है कि क्या होता है। इसके बाद अब कहा जा रहा है कि वहा से लाइसेंस उठा करके दूसरी जगह दे दें। तो यह जो जोन बिहार का ईस्टर्न यू पी० का, बंगाल का, उड़ीसा का है यह अपना भयानक गरीबी के कारण सारे देश को डिप्रेशन मे लेजा रहा है और सरकार इसके लिए कुछ नही कर रही है। इससे हमको अपना अदाजा है कि भयंकर विस्फोट होने के लिए जा रहा है। इसीलिए जब तक सरकार नीति में परिवर्तन नही करती है, एक भी पैसा इन्हें नहीं दिया जाए, नही तो और भी बर्बाद होगा।

इन्ही शब्दो के साथ मैं मंत्री जी से मांग करूंगा कि अपनी कानशेंस को देखते हुए वह पैसा नही मांगे और अगर मांगे तो बता दे कि सही ढ़ग से कम से कम हम जो चार-पाच बिन्दुओ पर बोले है, पांच परसेंट भी टैक्स इवेजन मे कमी, पाच परसेंट भी करप्शन को रोकें और पांच परसेंट भी अगर कास्ट एस्केलेशन को रोकें तो इससे कही ज्यादा रुपया आयेगा, यही मै आपसे कहूंगा। धन्यवाद।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री जगेश देसाई) : श्री वी० गोपालसामी।

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: The most serious charges are smuggling in of a yarn factory worth Rs. 120 crores; excise evasion to the tune of Rs. 28 crore by suppressing actual production figures; import of PTA worth over Rs 100 crore by opening a back-dated letter of credit to overcome policy restrictions.

A senior official of the CBI recommended prosecution of Reliance but that was overruled by the boss of the CBI who got extension as a reward. It may be stated by the Government that a notice has been

issued. But why have they not been prosecuted? Is it because they have got proper connections in high places? Is it because the coffers of the people in high places are filled by the Reliance industries?

Sir, everybody knows that when people violate FERA or when charges are framed against them, fresh licences cannot be given. But what has happened here? The Government cleared a Reliance inspired scheme for export of 30,000 tonnes of polyester staple fibre and 5,000 tonnes of polyester filament yarn with incentives. One estimate puts the Reliance share in th bonanza at Rs. 40 crore.

The other day, the Finance Ministry announced two tax concessions: over 100 per cent reduction in import duty on N-paraffins which only Reliance has to import as raw materials for its linear alkyl benzene (LAB) project at Patalganga and removal of differential excise duty of 15 per cent on purified PTA to be manufactured only by Reliance.

The two concessions together, on a conservative estimate, amount to Rs. 85 crore. The concession for N-paraffins has been given to Reliance ignoring the protests by the public sector IPCL and the joint sector TNPL. A finest project has been commissioned in Tamil Nadu, a joint-sector venture, Tamil Nadu Petro-Products Limited, a joint venture of SPIC and State-owned TITCO with Rs. 181 crore LAB plant. They got technology from the U S. A team of experts from the U.S. were surprise to see the finest composition of the project. But Sir, for manufacture, they will be using kerosene whereas Reliance have been permitted to import paraffins. What will happen is, on the one hand, we allow our foreign exchange to be drained away, and on the other hand in the long run, there will be a glut in the market. What will happen to the indigenous manufacturing project? You are speaking high about the principle of self-reliance; but at the same time you are compromising and sacrificing the principle of self-reliance, just to help Reliance industries. It is a very serious thing. The joint venture project, an indigenous venture, has to suffer and the Reliance venture, has to suffer and the Reliance industries. will get the facilities; their duty also has been reduced. To what extent? from 150 per cent, it has been reduced to 30 per cent. Sir, the Enforcement Directorate and the CBI have been used to harass and victimise people like Mr. V. P. Singh, Mr. Bhure Lal, Mr. Vinod Pandey, who started the crusade to expose corruption in high places but Reliance are getting full encouragement and support of this Government. You are cutting at the very roots of Indian manufacturers. At the same time, you are allowing the Reliance to loot people's money When the Reliance has been permitted to loot hundreds of crores of rupees by way of customs and other duties, how are the people, mostly from the South, working in the Gulf countries, doing hard labour under a burning Sun, treated by the Customs officials ? Sir, I have with me the 'Gulf News'. This is published from Dubai, United Arab Emirates. This is dated September 2. This is a horrible story. It says 'Expats complain of Customs rip-off'.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : You give only the gist. You need not read out the entire thing. Time is very limited.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : I will just read out a small portion. It says :

> "Indian expats have yet again complained bitterly about their treatment at India's international airports.
>
> One of the saddest victims this summer was the Dubai-based Secretary Mostafa Hussain who said 'At the Madras Airport, I was told there was no green channel. I pleaded with the officer. I told him I was going to attend my mother's funeral. I even carried a telex copy to prove it, but to him, it hardly mattered."

This is a horrible story. This is how the people coming from the Gulf countries are being treated. They are being looted openly. They are being looted at the airports by the Customs officials As somebody put it, it is worse than labour pain. You are allowing people like Reliance to loot the people's money. At the same time,

[Shri V. Gopalsamy]

you are harassing and looting the people who are working in the Gulf countries.

Sir, Members are not permitted even to speak about Bofors on the plea that a Parliamentary Committee is going into the question When you say so, how can the Chief of the Army Staff give a Press interview, speak about the Bofors gun and say that it is the best gun? But when we talk about it, we are criticised. In fact, we are not permitted even to speak about it. Never before such a thing has happened. The Chief of the Army Staff speaking like a politician. He goes on to say that the IPKF will not come back from Sri Lanka until they finish the LTTE and implement the accord. In the same Press interview, he has spoken about the Bofors gun also. Sir, the hon. Member from this side was very correct. This country is reeling under a severe drought, an unprecedented drought When the country is reeling under a drought, we are spending crores of rupees on a foreign soil, waging an undeclared and ugly war to liquidate our own kith and kin, to annihilate the ethnic race. All this is being done just to appease the ego of one single individual. Who is that individual? The Prime Minister of India. It has become a war of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. Just to appease his ego, you are spending crores of rupees. Our own soldiers are getting killed every day. Our own soldiers. For what purpose? Is it a patriotic war? Sir, it is very painful to say this. I happen to hear very unfortunate things that our own soldiers, using Indian currency in the Sri Lankan market, are purchasing VCRs and other electronic goods

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG : Wrong. Totally wrong.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : Yes. The top brass of the Army is using these people. There was 2,000 applicants from the Air Force to go to Jaffna. (*Interruptions*) I am saying this based on information from reliable sources. Two thousand applicants were there from the Air Force to go to Jaffna and the top brass is using these people. Smuggling is going on.

SHRI ALADI ARUNA *alias* V. ARUNACHALAM (Tamil Nadu) : They are looting from Tamils' houses.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : They are looting. Gold is cheap. VCR is cheap. Other electronic goods are cheap. These people are bringing these things under the garb of operations. Nobody could check them.

6.00 P.M.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : We are going to complete the discussion today.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE (West Bengal) : Let us adjourn, it is already six.

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRI M. M. JACOB) : The Business Advisory Committee has already decided that the House may sit upto six and if necessary beyond six.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : I will take only five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI) : The discussion will have to be completed today and the reply will be tomorrow.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE : Already we are forced to extend the session against our wishes. Therefore, we may be permitted to close by six.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): We have got too much of business. Yes, Mr. Gopalsamy, you may take five minutes.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY : Sir, the other day, they discussed so many issues but we are kept under total darkness. Mr. Dixit came here. He briefed the Prime Minister, he briefed the External Affairs Minister, briefed the Defence Minister and went back. According to the press reports he conveyed the message of the Prime Minister of India to

Mr. Jaye. What is going on, nobody knows here. The country has been taken for a ride. The Parliament has been taken for a ride by this Government and the Prime Minister. When 35000 soldiers are engaged in a war on a foreign soil, spending more than Rs. 3 crores a day, Parliament is not informed what is going on there. Our friends may not agree with our views on Sri Lanka but the Parliament is entitled to know the latest position in Sri Lanka. Everything is hushed up. (*Interruptions*). We know what is going on but the Government should come out with a statement. Could you justify it ? Touch your heart and tell me. The Government should come out with a statement ot say what is going on there.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY (Pondicherry): Can you tell us what is going on there?

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I can tell you. Everyday atrocities are going on Tamils by Indian army. Rape, loot, plunder, murder, everything is going on by the Indian army.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: Don't tell like that. That is not true.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: I would like to warn this Government that if a team of experts or a team of independent observers is sent there at the instance of UN or something like that, the whole truth will come to light. Last week a team of press people were taken there. What happened? When they were taken to a particular place, people gathered there, abused the Government and they said that the first thing to be done was that the TV and radio of your country should be demolished, broken to pieces because all cock and bull stories are being spread over your T.V. and radio. Your credibility has been totally lost. You are the champion of non-alignment, but you have no business to go to a foreign country to dictate terms to ethnic race to decide their political destiny. It is up to them to decide their political destiny. It is their basic right to decide what their political future should be. You cannot dictate that you should not have Eelam. Could you go to any other country and say that you should not demand self-determination or any other right? Could you send any of your army to any other country to suppress any movement there? Could you send your army to Bangladesh to check the Chakmas there? Therefore, your credibility has been totally lost.

SHRI MIRZA IRSHADBAIG: No.

SHRI V. GOPALSAMY: In the international field you are applauding the agreement of Gorbachev and Reagan and here you are sending everyday your troops to kill your own kith and kin. This is ridiculous and a shame on the part of the Government. This Government headed by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi will not be forgiven by Tamil race.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): Papers to be laid on the Table.

PAPERS LAID ON THE TABLE —contd.

Notification of the Ministry of Finance (Department of Revenue)

SHRI B K. GADHVI): Sir, I beg to lay...

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: (West Bengal): Sir, on a point of order. It is a privilege of this House that when a Minister makes a statement, we ask clarifications and the Minister replies.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): It is not a statement.

SHRI NIRMAL CHATTERJEE: Just a minute. In this case this is being treated as a paper laid on the Table which prevents us from having any discussion. One day, I remember, the House did permit him to lay a paper on the Table so that we could save some time. But that cannot be taken as a matter of course. Today the same thing is being done. Why I am raising this point of order is, it is a very funny statement.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI JAGESH DESAI): It is not a statement; it is a paper to be laid.